

CASSANDRA.

(But I Hope not)

Theology

Bund 1

Telling what will come of it.

NUM. I.

IN

A N S W E R

TO THE

Occasional Letter.

NUM. I.

WHEREIN

The New ASSOCIATIONS, &c.

Are CONSIDERED.

The Second Edition.

By Dr. Leslie. only 2*l.* 6*d.*

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by the Bookellers of London and Westminster. 1705.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Occasional Letter, Mark'd Num. I. Gave Occasion to Expect more of them. And the rather, for that this *First Letter* seems very Imperfect; And to have Reserv'd the *Proofs* of what he Asserts to a *Second Performance*.

But having waited thus long, and seeing no Prospect of that, we must take this, as it is, and make our Best of it.

There are some Particulars which are left for a *Num. II.* Not to swell this too much. But the *Contents* of it are put to this, with the *Appendix*, which serves for Both; because it will soon follow this: And that the Reader may see before-hand what he is to Expect. And it may perhaps Prompt the *Author* of the *Occasional Letter*, to give Us likewise a *Num. II.* Which he has Implicitly Promis'd. And I suppose will Perform, if he has any thing to say to this.

ERRATA.

P. 13. l. 18. for *lively* read *timely*. p. 14. l. 4. read *is that of.*



CONTENTS.

I. <i>Of Placing the Radical Power of Government in the People.</i>	page 1
II. <i>Concerning the Laws of the Land, and our own Constitution.</i>	p. 7
III. <i>Of the King and the Three Estates.</i>	p. 8
<i>Of Bishops being Try'd by their Peers.</i>	p. 11
IV. <i>Concerning the Limitations of Government.</i>	p. 25
1. <i>Limitations of Concession.</i>	ibid.
<i>Original Contract.</i>	p. 26
<i>King's Negative Voice.</i>	p. 27
2. <i>Limitations of Coercion.</i>	p. 30
V. <i>The best Security against Tyranny.</i>	p. 31
<i>A Notable Instance of Liberty and Property, in the Year 1642.</i>	ibid.
VI. <i>Whether the Un-Reasonableness of People, or the Male-administration of Kings are most to Blame?</i>	p. 32
VII. <i>A Comparison of the Mischiefs of Tyranny and Revolution.</i>	p. 36
VIII. <i>Of Slavish Principles.</i>	p. 38
IX. <i>Of a Limited and Mix'd Monarchy.</i>	p. 40
X. <i>Character given of the New-Association.</i>	p. 41
XI. <i>Of the Calves-Head-Feasts.</i>	p. 46
XII. <i>An odious Comparison betwixt K. Ch. and K. W.</i>	p. 49
XIII. <i>What will Please the Dissenters.</i>	p. 51
XIV. <i>Their Vindication of Themselves from the Murther of K. Char. I.</i>	p. 52
XV. <i>Of their Endeavours to Restore K. Char. II.</i>	p. 56
<i>The Meaning of their Seeking the Lord.</i>	p. 58
XVI. <i>A New and Notable Defence of Occasional Conformity.</i>	p. 62
XVII. <i>No Treason against an Hereditary King.</i>	p. 64

C O N T E N T S.

XVIII. Their Notion of Rebellion.	p. 65
XIX. The Sevenois Clear'd from Rebellion.	p. 66
XX. Who they are that Delight in War.	p. 67
A Postscript to Legion New-Vampt Million.	p. 68

CONTENTS of NUM. II.

I. Several Authors Reflected upon.	7
1. One not Nam'd.	
2. The Abridgement of Eusebius.	
3. The Preface to it.	
II. Of Charging Books upon Parties.	
Wherein of the Observator.	
III. Of the Secret History.	
Wherein of Murther of the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews.	
IV. The Character of an Enthusiast.	
V. Conclusion. Upon the Bill of Occasional Conformity.	

A P P E N D I X.

I. A Declaration of K. Char. II. in Scotland, 1650. With the Act of the West-Kirk. And General Lesley's Letter to Oliver Cromwell.	8
II. A Letter concerning the present Treatment the Epis- opal Clergy in Scotland meet with from the Presbyterians there. <i>With some Remarks upon a Book lately Printed, Intituled, An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh, May 6. 1703. And the late Address of the Kirk to Her Majesty.</i>	9
III. The Lord Chancellor Puckering's Speech in the House of Lords, Anno 1588.	
IV. A late Letter from Geneva, of their nearer Approach- es to the Church of England.	
V. The Horrid Procession of the Presbyterians at Edin- burgh, March 15. 1704. For Burning the Holy Bible, &c. by the Hands of the Common-Hangman.	

Cassandra.

WHEN GOD has determin'd *Destruction* to a *Nation*, he takes away their *Senses*, they have *Eyes* and *See not*, *Ears*, and hear not, they will not *Understand*.

There is a Sett of Men amongst Us who are Visibly Driving on (whether themselves know it or not) the Ruin of these *Nations*; by setting up the *Principles*, and carrying on the same *Pretences*, which began and at last Compleated the Bloody *Revolution of Forty One*, with the *Destruction* of the *Church*, the *King*, and the *Laws*.

And when their *Principles* are Examin'd to the Bottom; and their former *Practises* laid before them, with all the Dismal *Consequences*; it has no other Effect with them, than to Excite their *Rage* ten-fold more. They give no other *Answer* than the *Crafts-Men* at *Ephesus*, to Cry out Hours together, *Great is our Diana!*

And if this *Noise* and *Clamour* can Carry it against *Reason*, the *Authority* of the *Holy Scriptures*, the known *Laws* of the *Land*, and our own *Sad Experience*, what can be the Issue, but what it was before, if not worse, as of *Sins Repeated*, our utter *Destruction*!

The *ten Tribes* who Revolted under *Sheba*, Return'd again: But never after their *Second Defection* under *Jeroboam*; till they were finally Cut off, and their *Name* lost upon the Earth to this Day. And it is observable, That in the Succession of Nineteen *Kings* which they had in that time, there was not one *Good*, tho' all of their own *Chooing*.

The Root and Foundation of all our *Republican Schemes*, and
Of plac- Pretences for *Rebellion* is this suppos'd Radical Power in the Peo-
ing the R- ple, as of Erecting *Government* at the Beginning, so to Overturn
dical Pow- and *Change* it at their Pleasure.
er of Co
verment
in the Peo
ples.

To obviate this, the Author of the *New-Association*, Part. 2d.
Supplement. p. 4, &c. Carries Us to Matter of *Fact*, how *Political*
Government did Begin in the *World*: And how the *World*
was, at first, *Divided* into several *Nations*. And shews, That
this was not done by the *Election* of the *People*; But by that
most Stupendious *Miracle* of the *Division* of *Tongues*; whereby
all of one *Language* sorting together, and *God* placing a *Go-*
vernor over them, they became a *Distinct Nation*. And he like-
wise tells Us, That from that first *Division* of the *World* into 70
Distinct Nations and *Languages*, Mention'd in the xth of *Genesis*,
we have the *Names* of the several *Governours* where *Histories* have
been Preserv'd, from *Nimrod* all the way to this Present *Empe-*
ror of Germany, for Example, and so of others.

Then as to the Reason of the thing, he brings Arguments to
shew, That *Government* cou'd not be Founded, nor the *World*
Divided into *Nations*, upon that Foot of the *Election* of the *Peo-*
ple. That this *Hypothesis* wou'd Render all *Governments Preca-*
tions, and Eternally Liable to *Change* and *Confusion*. That it was
never yet known, nor ever can be, what is meant by the word
People, in this Scheme of *Government*. For the *whole People* ne-
ver *Chose*. And a *Part* of the *People* is not the *Whole*. That the
Whole or *Half* of the *People* do not *Choose* those who are call'd
Representatives of the *People* in *England*. And far less in *Hol-*
land, *Venice*, or any *Republick* that is in the *World*. That this
Scheme of Deriving *Government* from the *People*, is much more
Destructive of the *Rights*, *Liberties*, and *Safety* of *Mankind*, than
the other *Model* of *Divine Right* in the *Governours*, as having their
Power from *God*.

Now let Us see what is Answer'd to this, in the *Occasional*
Letter.

As to the first part, the *Original* of *Government*, and the *Di-*
vision of *Nations*, it is said, p. 20. That *People* were at first *Divid-*
ed out of Necessity. And supposing the *Governor* not to do Right
to his *People*, They wou'd have had a *Right* to have proceeded to a

New Choice. This supposes the first *Division* to have been by the *Election* of the *People*. And his bare saying so is all the Proof he brings. He Answers not a Word to the plain *Matter of Fact*, which is directly against him. But adds, That he *Laughs at Divine Right*. And thinks it so *Trifling an Argument, as not to Deserve a Serious Consideration*. He says, *I cannot see any Reason to think that One Man was Exalted so much above the Rest, for his own, but the Peoples sake.* That is True. But then there are several Reasons given in the *New Assoc.* Why it is best for the *People* not to have the *Choice* in themselves. And none of them are Answer'd. However this is going from *Matter of Fact* to *Reasoning*. Will they then yield the *Fact*? And let us *Reason* afterwards? He says, (*ibid.*) *That when Jacob Died, we find no manner of Superiority left to his Eldest Son Reuben.* This is *Objecting*, instead of *Answering*. What has this to do with the first *Division of Nations*? This is Skipping from one thing to another, without *Answering Distinctly* to any thing. This go's up on the Point of the *Primogeniture*. Which is a Different Head of Argument, from the *Division of Nations*; and comes in the second place, the other being first settl'd. And settl'd it is, for any thing this *Author* says to the Contrary. Therefore I will Answer him as to this, That he will find the Right of the *Primogeniture* fully Asserted in that same *Cafe of Reuben*. *Gen. XLIX.* 3. Where *Reuben*, on Account of his *Primogeniture* only, is call'd the *Excellency of Dignity, and the Excellency of Power*. But he was Rejected (as *Cain* and *Esau* were) for his Wickedness, because he *went up to his Father's Bed*. ver. 4.

He says (*ibid.*) *And when Division was made, it was by Lot.* What *Division* do's he mean? Was this the *Division of Nations*? Which is the Point he was to Answer. Or was it the *Division of the Holy Land* among the twelve *Tribes*, by *Joshua*? What has this to do with the *People's Choice* of their *Governours*? Was it the *Lots* supposed to be *Cast* among the *Tribes, Families, and Persons*, upon the *Election of Saul*? But he was *Anointed by Samuel* before that. *1 Sam. x. 1.* And it was *God* who order'd the *Lots* (if any) to be *Cast*. And the *People* knew not *Saul*, nor after the *Lot* fell upon him, where to find him. ver. 22. And when *God* had told them where he was, *Samuel said to all the People*,

see ye him whom the Lord hath Chosen. ver. 24. So that here is no Foundation for the *Election* of the *People*, but the Direct Contrary. *Saul* first Chosen by *God*. Then *Reveal'd* to *Samuel*, and by him *Anointed*. Then shew'd to the *People* by him. Whether any *Lots* were Cast in the Case is not Certain, for there is no mention of it in the *Text*; only said that such a *Tribe*, such a *Family*, and such a *Person* was *Taken*. For ought we know, *Samuel* himself Nam'd them all. But that is not Material. For however it was, it was by *God's* express ordering, without any *Election* of the *People*, as to the *Person*.

However this is Foreign to the first *Division* of *Nations*, and the *Original* of *Political Government*, upon which the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* do's Insist. And gives this Reason for it, p. 9. *That all Factions have Recourse to this, when they are about to Un-hinge and Over-turn settled Constitutions.* For the *Original Power* of *People in General*, is not to be taken from the special Dispensation given to any one *Nation*, or *Particular People*; but from the Rights of *Mankind*, Consider'd in their *Natural State*. And whether the first *Division* of *Nations*, and *Original* of *Political Government* among *Men*, arose from *Mankind* in this *Suppos'd State of Nature*, and by their own *Free* and *Voluntary Election*: Or, Whether by the *Institution* of *God*, without the *Election* of the *People*? Is the Question we are Concern'd to Discuss. For if the *Latter* be the Case, Then the *People* have no *Original Rights* to *Claim*, as to the Disposition of *Governments*.

But, says the *Occasionalist*, p. 17. suppose *That Governments were from the Beginning Instituted by God, and That he set a Ruler over every Nation.* — *The People had as much a Divine Right to their Rulers Protection, as they had a Right to Govern.* And let us (says he) put *Matters upon this Foot*, *I shall be ready enough to Grant a Divine Right.*

Well then, we will put *Matters upon this Foot*! Now see if we can agree.

I Grant therefore, *That People have a Right to the Protection of their Governours.* And a *Property* in their *Possessions*. And by the *Divine Law*. Infomuch that if their *Rulers*, whom *God* has set over them, do *In-vade* their *Rights*, they make themselves obnoxious to the *Divine Law*, and to the *Judgment* of *God*, for so doing.

But

But now the Question still Remains, Whether the *People* in such a Case, can Right themselves, by taking *Arms* against their *Governours*? By *Deposing* them, and *Choosing* others in their Room? And for the *Negative*, these Reasons are Urg'd in the *New Association*.

1. That the *Right* of the *Governours* being *Divine*, must, upon no Account, be *Invaded*. And that we make our selves *Obnoxious* to the *Divine Vengeance*, if we *Inade* his *Right*! As he do's, if he *Invades* ours.
2. That we cannot take *Arms* and *Depose* him, without *Assuming* the *Power* of *Government* to our selves; which upon the *Scheme* now suppos'd, is *Usurping* the *Sword* of *God*, which He never gave Us. And *Consequently* a *Rebellion* against *God*. Putting our selves in his Place. And a *Dissolving* of the *Constitution* which he has *Ordain'd* to *Represent* *Himself*; and by which he do's *Govern* the *World*.
3. That by *Un-hinging* of *Government*, and putting it in the *People*, we shall bring Greater *Mischiefs* upon our selves, than those we seek to *Avoid* under our *Governours* of *God's Appointment*. And our *Confusions* can have no End, in that *Frame* of *Things*: Because the *Centre* of *Government* can never be *Fix'd* in the *People*; that being a word of no Certain *Denomination*. And *Contending* *Parties* may *Fight* it out, upon Equal *Claim* of *Right*, to the *End* of the *World*. Therefore that there can be no lasting *Settlement*, no *Security*, but in a *Divine Right*, to which all ought to *Submit*.
4. Let me add, That our *Lives* are only at *God's Disposal* who gave them. He has not left them in our own *Power*. Therefore we cannot by any *Acts* of ours, give that to others, which we have not our selves; Give to any other a *Power* over our *Lives*. And *Consequently* the *Power* of *Life* and *Death* can never be given by the *Election* of *People*; or any other ways than by a *Divine Right*, without which there can be no *Obligation*, of *Conscience*, to obey any *Government*, or not to *Overtur* it, if I can Gain a Stronger *Party* to my Side; for then it is the *People*! And if the lesser Number Prevail, they are the *People*; and the *Ballance* of *Power* is on their Side! The *Minor* may be the *Potior pars*. And setting aside *Divine Authority*, I know no

Man has *Power* over me, more than I over him; since *Nature* has put us all upon a *Level*. And I will break loose from, when I can, as from a *Robber*; and so may he from me. And if the *Major Number* say, you may *Quit* the Country, if you like not the *Frame* and *Constitution* which we have *Voted*. I will say, No. Who gave you *Power* to *Punish* me my *Country*? It is my *Country* as well as yours. And for the *Major Vote*, the *Greatest Part* of the World are *Knaves* and *Fools*. I am *Born Free*, and no Man has Right to take my *Freedom* from me. And if I can gather a *Party*, tho' *Fewer*, we will *Fight* you for it. I grant, we do it at our *Peril*. But what I say, is, That there is no *Obligation* of *Conscience* on either side. There is no such thing as *Right* and *Wrong*, as *Just* or *Unjust*. Nor can there be any *Settlement* of *Government*, till we come to a *Divine Right*. To what else shou'd I give up my *Life* or my *Liberty*, if I can *Preserve* them? Tho' I should do it, by overturning twenty *Governments* that stand upon no other *Foundation* than what I carry within my own *Breast*, that is, the *Original Right* and *Freedom* of *Mankind*. By which *Two Men* have no other *Power* over *One*, but *Force*. And that may be *Repell'd* by *Force*. Here is no *Authority*, to which I ought to *Obey*, for *Conscience* sake.

As to the *Case* of *Usurpers* and *Common-Wealths*, it is *Answer'd* in the *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 9. That the *Government* in *Being* has the *Right*, where there is none who *Claim* a *Better Right*. But this not from the *Election* of the *People*, if that were *Suppos'd*, for no *Government* or *Constitution* was ever yet set up by the *Free* and *Equal Election* of All the *People*: But as *Possessing* that *Authority*, which *God* at first *Founded* in the *division* of *Nations*, and *Design'd* to continue to the *End* of the *World*. If those in *Possession* came wrongfully by it, they will *Answer* it to *God*. But still it is theirs of *Right*, where none *Claim* a better *Right* to it than they have. As a *Man* who *Steals* a *Hat*, has a *Right* to it against any but the *Owner*; so that if any others take it from him by *Force*, it is *Robbery* in them. And yet the *Act* of *Robbery* always *Remains* a *Sin*. And notwithstanding, *Possession* gives a *Right*, against all who have not a *Better Right*. And this arises from the *Necessity* of *Government*, which *God* *Himself* at first did *Institute*, and *Ordain'd* to *Continue*. And which never yet

yet did, or ever can Devolve to the *People*. For that would be perfect *Anarchy*; which, as my Ld. *Bp.* of *Sarum* well says, *Vindicta Opens a Door to Endless Confusions, which will never admit of Order or Remedy.* And he makes it worse than putting the *Power* into the *Hands* of the most *Cruel Tyrant*, even of the *Pope* himself.

Now let us see what the *Occasional Letter* says to these things. p 68, 69.

It says thus, p. 20. *And how unfit this Writer may imagine a Heady Multitude to be, to fix upon Order or Government, yet 'tis certain, that Necessity will bring them to it; and it will be strange, if there should not be among them some, that have Heads wise enough to Invent a Scheme, for their Security and Protection, which the largest part will Agree to: And the Rest, if they please, may seperate and remove, where they think to be better Govern'd.*

Now instead of this being an *Answer* to what is Advanc'd in the *New Assoc.* (Part of which is set down before) *That is a Direct Answer to This.* And it is shew'd there, *That there can be no such Scheme Invented, by any Heads how Wise soever.* Why will they not shew such a *Scheme* to Us? They have been long about it! And many *Schemes* have they made. Yet none will Hold! They can never make one, upon the Foot of the *People*, that is not altogether *Precarious, Nonsense, and Contradiction.* That can give any *Basis* or *Settlement* to *Government*: Or oblige any to submit for *Conscience* sake: Nay farther, That do's not Destroy and Utterly Subvert their *Beloved and Foundation-Principle* of the *Original Freedom and Independence* of the *People*; Since all these *Schemes* end in a *Force* upon those, who will not Comply with their *Constitution*.

And all the *Answer* hitherto given by these *Scheme-Mongers*, is only to say, They are sure there may be such a *Scheme*! And it were Strange (as this Author says) if there should not!

Finding no Relief in *Arguments* or *Schemes*, he produces an *Instance*, which he thinks none Dare Answer. He Represents our *Constitution* and the *Laws*, as Founded upon the *People*. Then Proves that this Cannot be *Jure Divino*. And so his Point is Gain'd — — !

I shall the more willingly Answer this, because many are Deceiv'd by it; And understand not our *Constitution* or the *Laws*, or Wilfully *Mistake* them.

He

He begins, p. 16. with making the *Queen, (or King) Lords, and Commons, the Three Estates.* And makes the *Ballance of Power* to *Conſit in their good Agreement.* But says he, *If either grows Arbitrary, and Breaks through their Bounds at Pleaſure, then Publīck Liberty is indeed in Danger, and we know not where to Look for it.* *But when the Regular order is obſerv'd, then 'tis very Easie to know where to find it. Here the Centre of Government is plac'd, and I hope will long Continue, Notwithſtanding all the Trifling, Groundleſs Pretences of a Juſt Divinum to prove it Unlawful.*

Here is a *Centre* indeed, and a *Ballance!* One would think he were *Playing Booty!* He makes *Three Co-ordinate Powers*, each at *Liberty to Encroach upon the other, and Gain more of the Ballance to themselves;* and if these, or any *One* of them should *Differ with the Other;* then he *Confesses there is no Centre or Balance at all!* There is no *Judge* betwixt them, the *Sword* must *Decide it.*

Is it then a thing so Rare to be found, was it never Heard of, that *King, Lords and Commons* should *Differ about their several Powers, Privileges, and Prerogative?*

Especially Considering that in the second Part of *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 11. Which this Author is here Answering, that same *Treatise* which in this very *Page*, p. 16. He calls a *Learned and Judicious One*, is Quoted, saying, *That in the whole Compass of History, no one single Example can be brought, of any One popular Assembly, who after beginning to contend for Power, ever fate down Quietly with a Certain share.* And *that no One Instance could be produc'd, of a Popular Assembly that ever Knew, or Propos'd, or Declar'd what share of Power was their Due.* And concludes, *That there is no Hopes of this Matter being Adjusted.*

Now let this Author Answer his own *Learned and Judicious Treatise;* Or otherwise Confess, That his *Centre* and *Ballance of Power* is *Impracticable*, of which no *Instance* can be given in *History;* And no *Method* possible to be Prescrib'd for it, since none of the *Bailancers* do *Know*, and therefore cannot *Agree* what *share of Power is their Due.*

III.
of the
King, and
the Three
Estates.

To make out this *Ridiculous Scheme of Government*, our Modern *Bailancers of Power* have *Reviv'd* again (and for the same Ends) the *Trayterous and long since Exploded Notion of their Predeceſſors*

cessors in the *Rebellion of Forty One*; That the King is a Part of the *Parliament*, and One of the *Three Estates of Parliament*; and so *Co-ordinate* with the *Two Houses of Lords and Commons*. That having thus brought him to a *Level* with his *Subjects*, they might the more easily *Depose* him.

This they Proclaim'd aloud in their *Observators*, and often Repeated. Which being fully and Judiciously Answer'd in the *Heraklitus*, Num. 10, 12, 13. That the King is none of the *Three Estates*, and several *Acts of Parliament* Quoted, which makes it clear past *Contradiction*, or other Answer from the *Observator*, than his *Buffoonry*, after this manner, *Let me have my Queen*, (as he *Insolently*, and in *Ridicule* Treats Her *Majesty*) and *Lords, and Commons*, and let him have as many *Estates* as he will.

But I was surpriz'd to find this *Author* of the *Occasional Letter* (whom I suppose of an *Higher Figure*) to *Chime in* with such *Sensless Scribblers*, and to *Trump up* this *Jargon* again upon *Us*! There must be some *Design* on Foot! If he had kept the *Church*, he might have found a Solution of this Point, in the *Office for Gunpowder-Treason* (which is likewise an *Act of Parliament*) where we Bless God for Preserving the *King*, and the *Three Estates of this Realm, Assembled in Parliament*.

Who these *Estates* are, is plainly set down, 24 H. 8. c. 12. The first are the *Prelates or Lords Spiritual*, Representing the *Body Spiritual*. The second are the *Temporal Nobility*, who sit in the same *House* with the *Spiritual Nobility*, as they are call'd 26 H. 8. c. 2. *The Nobles Spiritual and Temporal*. And the third *Estate* are the *Commons*. Thus say they to the *King*, 25 H. 8. c. 21. *Four Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and Commons, Representing the whole State of your Realm*, But for the *King*, in the *foresaid Statute*, 24 H. 8. c. 12. He is call'd the *One Supreme Head and King* — *Unto whom a Body Politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of People, divided in Terms, and by Names of Spirituality and Temporality, been bounden and owen to bear, next to God, a Natural and Humble Obedience*. *He being also Instituted and furnished by the Goodness and Sufferance of Almighty God, with Plenary, Whole, and Entire Power, Pre-eminence, Authority, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, to Render and Yield Justice, and final Determination to all manner of Folk, Resiants or Subjects within this his Realm, in all Causes, Matters, Debates, and Contentions, &c.*

Here is a *Dernier Resort*, and *Centre of Government*.

And here the *Body of the People* is Divided into Two Branches of *Spirituality* and *Temporality*. Of the *Temporality* there are two *Estates*, the *Lords Temporal*, and the *Commons*. But the *Body Spiritual* is a Distinct *Estate* by it self, and the *First* of the *Three*. And it is more *Distinct* from the other *Two*, than they are from each other, as differing from them, in a *Specifical Manner*; for they *Both* are Comprehended under one Denomination of *Temporality*, and are the several *Parts* of it; whereas the *Spirituality* is of a Different *Nature*, and *In-communicalbe*, with the other.

And this was made very Apparent, in that the *Body Spiritual* were not *Taxable* by *King* and *Parliament*, but only by *Themselves*. The *Possessions* of the *Church* being Reckon'd the *Patri-mony of God*, being *Dedicated* to *Him* and to His *Church*; And therefore no *Temporal Power* could lay their Hands upon it, under *Peril of Sacrilege*.

And the *Clergy* were never *Taxed* but by *Convocation*, till the Cursed *Revolution of Forty One*, which overturn'd all *Foundations*. And after the *Restoration*, when, before things cou'd be Settl'd upon the Old *Foot*, the *Taxings* us'd by the *Usurpers*, was (for the Present only Intended to be) Continu'd. In the first *Act of Parliament*, which *Taxed* the *Clergy* in Common with the *Laity*, there is an *Express Proviso*, Saving to the *Clergy*, their Antient and Undoubted *Right of Taxing Themselves*. But a *Precedent* once Made, it has been carry'd on to this Day.

And as the *Possessions*, so much more the *Persons* of the *Clergy* were Esteem'd so *Sacred*, as that, if any of them were Guilty of a *Capital Crime*, or which Deserv'd a *Personal Shame* or *Punishment*, Care was taken to Preserve the *Character* from Sharing in the *Disgrace*, by the *Person's* being first *Degraded* by his *Spiritual Superiors*, and so Deliver'd up as a *Lay-Man* to the *Bra-chium Seculare*.

If the *Church* wou'd not Deliver him up, there is no Reason that he should Escape the *Judgment of the Law*, as it was in the times of *Papery*. But it is Highly Reasonable that should be *Try'd*. If the *Church* Refuses, it is her Fault. And it is very Improbable She wou'd Refuse what Conduc'd so much to the Preserving of her *Authority* and *Reputation*.

Wou'd

Wou'd it be *Decent* to see a *Clergy-Man* Hang'd in his *Gown*?
And were it not fit some other Hand shou'd *Dis-Robe* him,
than the *Executioner*?

The *Canonical Habit* is not so *Sacred* as the *Character*.

We have seen *Clergy-Men* both *Whipp'd* and *Pillory'd*, and *Hang'd* too, within these few Years, without being *Degraded*, or the Question so much as Ask'd at their *Bishops*, or perhaps their Knowing it, but as others, from the *Publick News*.

Tho' the *Exemption* of *Clergy-Men* from the *Secular Power*, even in *Secular Causes*, was an *Unreasonable* and *Unjust Usurpation* of *Popery*; yet *Christianity*, and *Regard* to *Religion* in *General*, do's Require, That the *Ministers* thereof, should be so far *Exempted* from *Publick Contempt*, as that when they suffer for *Personal Crimes*, their *Punishment* shou'd be only *Personal*, and their *Profession* not *Suffer* with them.

However, while the *Laws* so stood, no *Clergy-Man*, till *Reduc'd* to a *Lay-Man*, cou'd be *Try'd* by *Lay-Men*. Which Abundantly shews the *Spirituality* to be a *Distinct Estate*.

And by the way, this seems a full *Confutation* of that (with *of Bishops Submission*) *Vulgar Error*, even amongst our *Lawyers*, That a *Bishop* has all the *Privileges* of other *Peers*, except that of *being Try'd by their Peers*. For which the Reason given is, That there is no *Precedent* for it in our *Law*. How cou'd there, when a *Bishop* cou'd not be *Try'd* at all, but by his *Fellow-Bishops*? These only were *Reckon'd* his *Peers*, as being *Members* of the *First Estate*: And no *Member* of one *Estate*, is to be *Try'd* by any other *Estate*, But when a *Bishop* was *Degraded*, he was put out of that *Estate*, and *Reduc'd* to a plain *Commoner*, and *Try'd* as such. The same as if a *Temporal Peer* were *degraded*. There are *Temporal Peers* whose *Honours* are *Annex'd* to such a *Castle* or *Mannor*, which if they *Sell*, they *Lose* their *Honour* and *Peerage*. And after are to be *Try'd* by their then *Peers*, the *Commons*. I take the *Cases* to be *Parallel*. And tho' the *Bishops* are mostly *Reduc'd* to the *Temporal Peerage*, except the *Privilege* of *Absenting*, if they Please, in *Tryals of Blood*; yet surely they are not brought below that *Peerage*, while they *Retain* some *Privileges* still above it. And while a *Bishop* is a *Peer*, he must have all the *Privileges* of the *Peerage*; unless what is taken away by *Act of Parliament*.

For what else can take it away? See the Learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* his *Grand Question*.

But to return. Tho' the *Body Spiritual* ever was, and is still so Distinguishingly the *First* of the Three *Estates*, yet it is but *Part* of the *Body* of the *Realm*. The *King*, and he *Only*, is the *Head* of the *Realm*.

And the *Crown* belongs to *Him Alone*, without any *Partners*. And is in no *Earthly Subjection*, as it is Declar'd, 16 Rich. 2. c. 5. *That the Crown of England has been so Free at all times, that it hath been in no Earthly Subjection, but Immediately Subject to God, in all things touching the Regality of the same Crown, and to none other.* Then surely not to his Subjects. As the Three *Estates* are.

And thus they Stile themselves, 1 Eliz. c. 3. *Where Both Houses of Parliament, the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and Commons say to Her Majesty, We your Faithful and Obedient Subjects, Representing the Three Estates of your Realm of England, &c.*

Many other *Statutes* may be Quoted to this Purpose. But it is strange that *Clamour* has not been silenc'd, by the *Act* (yet *Un-Repeal'd*) of 12 Car. 2. c. 30. Which was made on purpose against the *Trayterous Principles* and *Pretences* of *Forty One*, particularly this of making the *King* Co-ordinate with the Two *Houses of Parliament*, and *One* of the *Three Estates*; and explaining the former *Laws* in this Point. And there it is declar'd, *That by the undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor Both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively or Representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have, any Coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.*

And 13 Car. 2. c. 1. It is made *Premunire*, either by *Writing*, *Printing*, *Preaching*, or other *Speaking*, to *Declare* or *Affirm*, *That both Houses of Parliament, or either Houses of Parliament, have, or hath a Legislative Power, without the King, or any other Words to the same Effect.*

Again, in the same *Statute*. cap. 6. *That the Power of the Sword is solely in the King; And that both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot, nor ought to pretend to the same; Nor can, nor Lawfully may Raise or Levy any War, Offensive or Defensive, against*

against His Majesty, His Heirs, or Lawful Successors; and yet the contrary thereof hath of late Years been practised, almost to the Ruin and Destruction of this Kingdom; and during the late Usurp'd Governments, many Evil and Rebellious Principles have been distilled into the Minds of the People of this Kingdom, which, unless prevented, may break forth to the Disturbance of the Peace and Quiet thereof.

And cap. I. It is said, That the Growth and Encrease of the late Troubles and Disorders, did in a very great Measure proceed from a Multitude of Seditious Sermons, Pamphlets and Speeches, daily Preached and Published, with a Transcendent Boldness defaming the Person and Government of your Majesty, and your Royal Father, wherein Men were too much Encourag'd: And above all, from the Wilful Mistake of the Supream and Lawful Authority, whilst Men were forward to cry up and Maintain those Orders and Ordinances, Oaths, and Covenants, to be Acts Legal and Warrantable, which in themselves had not the least Colour of Law or Justice to support them; from which kind of Dissem-pers, as the present Age is not yet wholly freed, so Posterity may be apt to Relapse into them, if a lively Remedy be not provided, &c.

I think enough has been said to clear the Sense of the Law in this Point, of the King being One of the Tbree Estates, and Co-ordinate with the other Two. Which wou'd make such a Centre and Ballance of Power, as three Kings of Brandford! For indeed, it is setting up three Kings. What else are three Powers, each Independent and Un-accountable to Either or Both of the other? And, as our Author before Quoted says, when none of them Know, nor will Determine what Share of the Ballance of Power is their Due.

This is the Curious *Watch* we are told of in Dr. K — t's late Thanksgiving Sermon upon the 31st. of January 1704. Which, the oftner it is out of Order, shews the Greater Delicacy in the Stricture!

There is such a Curious *Watch* now set-up to *Auction* in *Poland*. And our *Whigs* bid fair for it, to have it brought over hither, as a *Regulator* to our *Time of the Day*!

What a Curious thing would it be, if Thirty two *Palatines*, and every *Man* in *Poland* (of whom each has a *Negative*) should all *Agree to a Tittle*!

But if One starts out of the way, there is a Pin lost in the Watch, and all is out of Order! Which shews the Stricture to be Most Delicate!

Such is of the Power of the People with Us, which every Man may set-up, for or against King, Lords, or Commons, as he thinks fit. And Legion against them All! Of which there is a New Edition just now come out, with Additions of Millions.

The Author of the Occasional Letter having Dress'd up the Constitution of England in such a Frame as this, had Reason to say, as he do's in the same Page before Quoted, p. 16. *Now this Government of ours so Modelled, can Never be said to be Deriv'd to us by any Divine Right.* No indeed! Nor by any Right, or even Common Sense! But this is come upon him and his New Accomplices, as the words of the *Act of Parliament* before Quoted says, *from a wilful Mistake of the Supreme and Lawful Authority.*

But he goes on, and says, p. 17. *I fancy those that Contend most for the Divine Right of Kings, will Allow that their Monarchs cannot Lawfully be Limited by the People, as I am sure ours are.*

Now suppose another should be as Positive as you are? And as Sure, that you Cannot be Sure! For however your Monarchs, as you Call them, or Wou'd have them, are Limited, I am sure it is not by the People. But by a Party, that call themselves the People, as every other Party of the People may, and always do, when they Rise-up to Overturn Governments.

You may say, the People are Represented as well as you can Contrive. That may be. But you can never Contrive it. How are they Represented, when much the Major Number have no Vote in the Election? How can it be, When, according to the Scheme of Power in the People, the Consent of every Individual is Necessary? As Mr. L.—K. makes it out in his so much Fam'd *Two Treatises of Government*, Book 2. Chap. 8. p. 316. Printed, 1690. But in this Sense, the People are such an Unweildy Body, that they can do nothing, can do no *Act*, either Good or Bad! Not so much as to Ask, *What's a Clock?*

But

But in the Position of which you are so Sure, there is the word *Lawfully*, —— *Cannot Lawfully be Limited?* —— Now if by *Lawfully* you mean, according to the *Law of the Land*, you are Determin'd by the *Act of Parliament* just now quoted, which makes it *Unlawful* for Either or Both *Houses of Parliament*, or for the *People*, either *Collectively* or *Representatively* to have any *Coercive Power* over the *King*.

But if by *Lawful*, you mean not the *Law of the Land*, but the *Law of Nature*, by which *Government* was first Erected among *Mankind*; then you must come to the *Original*, and the first *Division of Nations*. And see if you can give a Plainer Account of it, and better *Vouch'd*, than the *New Assoc.* has shew'd from *Genes. 10. 25*. To which you have given no Answer. And let me add, that this *Division of Nations* was not brought to pass *Gradually*, in a long *Tract of Time*, and in several *Age*s, as *People* Multiply'd and Spread over the *Earth*: But it was one *Act*, done at one *Time*, by that most Astonishing *Miracle* of the *Division of Tongues*, which did Distinguish the *Nations*. And that this was a most Remarkable *Time*, and Greatly *Notic'd*, appears from *Gen. x. 25*. When the Name of *Peleg* (which signifies *Division*) was given to the Son of *Eber*, for, as the *Text* says, *In his Days was the Earth Divided*. This was one of the most Memorable *Eraes* of the *World*. And ought not to be Forgotten by Us. How can it be Forgotten, while the *Mark* of it still Remains with Us, that is, the Multiplicity of *Languages*? But it is Forgotten! And the best Reason I can Assign for it, is, That our *Republican Vertuoso's*, who are generally *Deists*, are better vers'd in *Heathen Authors*, than in the *Holy Scriptures*; which they seldom Read, but to *Ridicule*, or pick *Holes* in them. They are not in the Class of their *Belle Lettre*. And *Horace* or *Tacitus* is a better *Text* with them, than *Genesis*. But as there is no *Heathen Author* Extant so Antient as *Moses*, so likewise (as we are told in the second *Par.* of *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 8.) there is no *Heathen History* whatsoever, wherein there is the least *Footstep* or *Umbrage* of this *Independent Condition of Mankind*, when they were All in this suppos'd State of *Nature*, without any *Government* among them. Therefore these *Scheme-Makers* go to their own *Brains*, and Invent, Contrive, and Fancy such *Times* and *Circumstances* of

of Mankind, as never were in the World! And from thence (to shew their *Ingenuity*) Frame such *Models* and *Originals* of *Government*, as are all *Impossibilities*! And at the same time, call this Account from *Genesis*, a *Precarious Supposition*. As this *Occasional Letter* does, p. 17. If the History of *Genesis* be *Precarious* with Them, they are desir'd to shew a *Better* on their side.

And this is not meer Matter of *Speculation*. It is of the Highest *Importance* to have it *Settl'd* and *Determin'd*. Because it is the only *Asylum* to which our *Mutinous* and *Seditious Spirits* do fly, when they are about making *Insurrections*, and disturbing of *Government*.

For no *Constitution* can be *broken* by its own *Laws*, which were made to *Preserve* it. You see in what is before Quoted, how *Positive* and *Express* our own *Laws* are, in Barring out all the *Pretences* of *Rebellion*. Therefore the *Seditious* will not be *Determin'd* by our *Laws* or *Constitution*; but fly *Higher*, to the *Original* of *Government* in the World. And there they think they have *Scope* enough to *Amuse*, and *Suppose* just to their own *Humour*! Therefore, as they have stated the *Case*, this is the very *Fugulum Causæ*. It is the first *Step* we must take, and then the rest will go on more *smoothly*.

Let them then give an *Account*, and name the *Time*, when *Political Government* began in the *World*; And *How*, and by what *Methods* the *World* was *Divided* into several *Nations*. Whether this was done by an *Equal Poll* or *Vote* of the whole *World* gather'd together; or their *Votes* sent from *far*, to set the *Bounds* and *Meres* of every *Country*, and Determine who and who should live in each, in the *Worſt Countries*, as well as the *Best*; and who should be the *Ruler* in each *Country*? Let them shew this, or make it *Possible*, upon the *Foot* of the *People*!

Now in the *New Assoc.* in the Place last Quoted, there is an Attempt made to shew every one of these Particulars. First, That it was *The most High, who Divided the Nations*. Deut. xxxii. 8. Secondly, That it was done by the *Division of Languages*. That they were Divided, *after their Tongues, in their Countries, and in their Nations*. Gen. x. 20. Thirdly, *That in the Division of the Nations of the Whole Earth, He (God) set a Ruler over every People*. Ecclus. xvii. 17. Fourthly, That this was done in the Days

Days of *Eber*, which made him call his Son *Peleg*, *For in his Days was the Earth Divided*. Gen. x. 25.

We are told likewise in the same Place of the *New Assoc.* That this was about an Hundred Years after the *Flood*; when *Mankind* were so *Encreased*, as to be thus *Divided*. Before which Time, we may well suppose that *Noah* had the Supreme *Government*. Tho' several *Families* might be *Manumitted*, and have a distinct *Government* of their own, under the several *Heads* of *Families*, yet with a Due *Subordination* to their Common *Parent*. But before this Time of the *Division* of the *Earth*, we Read nowhere of *Nations*. And therefore we may take the Rise of *Political Government* from this *Original*. And we must stick to it, till our *Popular Orators* can shew a Better.

But the great Prejudice remains still, That if the *Original of Political Government*, be thus immediately from *Divine Institution*: *Concerning the Limitations of Rulers*, now, (where there is no *Competition* by any other, who claims a Better *Right* than he in *Possession*) do's succeed to the same *Divine Right* which God gave to the first *Rulers*, whom he Plac'd over every *People*, at the first *Division of Nations*: Then it will follow, That no *Ruler* can be *Limited* by the *People*, or *Any* of them; and consequently, That all *Governments* must be *Absolute* and *Arbitrary*. Which makes a Dreadful Sound to *English Ears*!

This is the meaning of what is before Quoted out of this *Occasional Letter*, p. 17. *I fancy those that Contend most for the Divine Right of Kings, will allow that their Monarchs cannot Lawfully be Limited by the People.*

As to the *Lawfulness*, and by what *Law*, I have spoke already. But that this may not seem a *Put off*, I will Answer more Directly.

There are *Limitations of Concession*, and *Limitations of Coertion*. *Limitations of Concession* are always given by *Superiors* to their *Inferiors*. Thus the Great God is Pleased to *Limit* Himself, when he makes *Covenants*, and grants *Conditions* to *Mankind*. And is *Oblig'd* by His *Veracity*, to *Perform* them.

Thus *Fathers* may *Limit* themselves to their *Children*.

D

And

And thus, *Kings* may *Limit* themselves to their *Subjects*. By Granting them such and such *Laws*. And giving them the Assurance of their Solemn *Oaths* to observe them.

*Original
Contract.*

And this is all the *Original Contract* can be shew'd betwixt *Kings* and *People*. But it is neither *Original*, nor *Contract*.

First, not *Original*. Because *Laws* are made by *Kings*. Therefore *Kings* must be before *Laws*. Let the *Law* be Produc'd that made the first *King*; even here in *England*. We have been under *Kings*, as far as *History* can carry Us. And all the *Laws* that we have, have been made by *Kings*.

Our *Parliaments* do *Recognize* our *Kings*. See the *Acts of Recognition*, 1 *Eliz.* c. 3. And 1 *Jac.* c. 1. Where the *Parliament* acknowledges their Prior *Right* from the *Proximity of Blood*; which is call'd the *Law of God*, as well as of *Man*. These *Parliaments* did not Pretend to *Make* them *Kings*, or to *Bestow* the *Crown*, as at their *Disposal*. But did, in most *Humble Manner*, *Recognize* and *Acknowledge* their *Right*, as from *God*. And thereunto (says the *Parliament*) *We most Humbly and Faithfully do Submit and Oblige our selves, our Heirs and Posterity for Ever, until the last Drop of our Bloods be spent.*

Secondly, *Laws* which *Kings* make, are no *Contracts*. They are wholly *Concessions* on one side. On the side of the *King*. Our *Magna Charta*, which begins our *Statute-Book*, is *Wholly and Solely* from the *King*. And express'd to be Granted of his *Meer and Free-Will*.

Afterwards the *Lords* or the *Commons* did humbly *Petition* to the *King*, that such *Laws* should be made. As the *Stile* of our former *Acts of Parliament* do's shew.

Be it *Enacted* by the *King*, or Our Sovereign *Lord* the *King* hath *Ordain'd*, by the *Advice* of the *Lords*, and the *Humble Petition* of the *Commons*, &c.

The *Lords* might *Advise*, and the *Commons* may *Petition*, but the *Enacting Part* is onely in the *King*. He *Enacts* with their *Advice*, not *They* with *His*. He only is *Sovereign*, in all *Causes*, and over all *Persons*.

Not by way of having a *Negative Voice*, as one of the *Three King's Co-Ordinate Powers* (according to the *Stile of Forty One*, and of *Negative our Present Whigs*) for *Three*, or *Threescore Negatives* cannot *make an Affirmative*. A *Negative* is only saying, *This shall not be a Law*. But who has Power to say, *This shall be a Law?* And whose saying so, do's make it a *Law?* That is only the *King*, Whose *Fiat* stamps the *Authority* of a *Law* upon what the *three Estates* have *Prepar'd*. And if he *likes* it not, he may *Reject* it. The *three Estates* may bring *Bullion*: But it is the *Impression* of the *King's Image*, and *Superscription*, and *That only* which makes it *Coin*. And it is *Treason to Counterfeit* it.

Now tho' the *King* has *limited* himself: by way of *Concession*, not to make *Laws* without the *Three Estates*: Yet he has not *Parted* with any of his *Prerogative* to them. Nor *Parcell'd* out the *Supreme Power* among these *Estates*, as some foolishly think.

For all *Power* is one and *In-Divisible*, whether in the *Hands* of *One* or *Many*. There must be a *Dernier Resort*, or there can be no *Government*. And where this is in an *Assembly*, that *Assembly* is one *Body*, as one *Person*. And the *Particular Persons* who *Compose* that *Assembly*, have not the *Power* shar'd among them, none of them have any *Part* of the *Power* at all. For the *Act* of the *Body* only is the *Law*.

Now in such a *Constitution* it is necessary, that every *Member* of this *Assembly* should have *Free* and *Equal Vote*, That one should not have a *Commanding Power* over another. Nor the *Power* of *One* be *Deriv'd* from *Another*. But every *Member* sits there, by the same *Authority*.

But how different is this from our *Constitution*? Where the *King* is *Supreme* and *Sovereign*, and his *Crown Imperial!* Where both *Houses of Lords* and *Commons* stile *Themselves His Majesty's Most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects!* And take *Oaths of Allegiance* to him, Asserting him to be the *Only Supreme Governor, in all Causes, and over all Persons*.

Whose *Authority* gives *Being* to, and *Creates* the *Parliament*. And *Dissolves* them at his *Pleasure*, with the *Breath* of his *Mouth!*

Inasmuch that the same *Persons* Meeting without his *Authority*, are an *Un-lawful Assembly*, and *Punishable* by the *Law!*

How then can *this Authority* be *Deriv'd* from *Them!* Can the *Creature* make its *Creator!*

Are They then Co-Ordinate Powers with Him, who Derive what Authority they have from Him!

And as the King may bring what Persons he Pleaseth into the House of Lords, without asking their Consent; He has not so far yet Limited Himself: So the Limitation of what Persons shall Vote for Members of the House of Commons, is Wholly and Solely from the King, as All our Laws are. This was never Determin'd by a Free and Equal Vote of all the People. Let our Commonwealths-Men shew that! As for what Advice the King took in doing of this, That is not the Matter. The Parliament is call'd the King's Great Council.

And we have several Acts of Parliament wherein the King did not take the Advice of all the Three Estates. As 3. Rich. 2. c. 2. Our Lord the King, by the Advice and Assent of all the Lords Temporal—bath Ordain'd and Established, &c. This was a Case wherein the Bishops were Concern'd. And therefore their Advice was not Ask'd. And 13 Rich. 2. c. 1. In a Case where the Commons were Complainants, the King Enacts, By the Assent of the Great Men and Nobles. Several other Instances of this sort may be given. And tho' the Method be Alter'd now, and all our Acts carry by Advice and Consent of the Three Estates Distinctly Nam'd, viz. Lords Spiritual, Temporal, and Commons; yet all this is from the King. He cou'd not have been Compell'd to it. It is a Limitation of Concession which he has Granted.

Our Constitution was not Always as it is now. They who are warr'd in the Rolls of Parliament, will find there Precedents of Parliaments, summoned without either Citizens or Burgeesses, only Knights, sometimes Two, sometimes but One. Of Parliaments Summon'd for one Knight, two Citizens, and two Burgeesses. Parliament Summon'd to meet in less than Forty Days: And after Summons, Dissolv'd before Meeting. Summon'd to one Place, and before Meeting Order'd to another Place, and to a further Day. They will find Writs requiring the same Members as in the Preceding Parliament. Writs directed to Corporations for two Burgeesses, and to the Sheriffs but for one Knight: They will find the Speaker of the House of Commons (in Vacation) taken in Execution, and Imprison'd, and a New Speaker Chosen. So that their Privileges were not always as they are Now. Nay no longer ago than the Reign of Queen Eliz. We find her Li-

Town-
Men's Col-
lections
Printed
1680. p.
37, 38.

miting

writing the Freedom of Speech in the House of Commons to the bare giving of their Vote, *Yea* or *No*. But not to meddle with Reforming or Transforming either *Church* or *Commonwealth*. And the Speaker order'd to Reject such Bills, if offer'd, until they be view'd and consider'd of by those whom it is fitter shou'd consider of such things, and can better Judge of them. And the Privilege of their Persons so Limited, as That no Man's ill doings, or not Performing of Duties, be Covered or Protected. And the third Petition of Access to Her Majesty, Restrain'd only to *Weighty Causes*, and when she was at *Leisure*. I have not added the *Quotations* of the *Rolls of Parliament*, in the Particulars beforementioned, for Brevity sake; and because few Readers can Consult them; and they who are Conversant in them, do know all this. But they are ready when call'd for, upon any occasion, and more to the same Purpose which I suppose, will not be deny'd by any body.

But I will Quote a *Book* which every one may Consult, and which shews the different *Methods* of *Management* in *Parliament* from what is now. It is *Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, &c.* Revised by *Will. Prynne*. London Printed 1657. There you will find *Petitions* and *Bills* in *Parliament*, whereof the *King* Granteth *Part*, and denieth *Part*. p. 48. n. 12. n. 17. n. 19. p. 66. n. 24. p. 57. n. 30. p. 74. n. 16. p. 138. n. 177.

Again Granted with *Exceptions*, *Addition*, *Explanation*, or upon *Condition*. p. 39. n. 34. p. 46. n. 44. p. 48. n. 14. p. 60. n. 45. p. 62. n. 57. Answer to the *Articles of the Clergy*. p. 33. n. 33. p. 70. n. 8. n. 19. p. 80. n. 29. p. 82. n. 15. p. 96. n. 12. p. 97. n. 19. p. 118. n. 20. p. 126. n. 67. p. 130. n. 109. p. 131. n. 113. 115. p. 132. n. 124. p. 140. n. 199. p. 159. n. 57. p. 152. at the End. p. 166. n. 131.

Now the Use I have to make of these Things, is to shew, That neither the *Constitution* or *Privileges* of *Parliaments* are *Original Rights*, or *Fundamentals*; but *Variable* and *Changeable*. Nor do they Flow from the *People* at all, but are, and ever were the *Concessions* and *Grants* of *Kings*, and nothing else.

And as to all these *Limitations*, I now say, in Direct Answer to our *Author*, That the *King* cannot be Lawfully *Limited* by the *People*. He cannot be *Limited* but by *Himself*, That is by the

the Law, which is made by Him, and cannot be made without Him.

2. But now as to **Limitations of Coercion**. No Supreme Power can Grant any such. Because it *ipso facto* Dissolves the Government. For it sets up a Power that is Superior to the Supreme, which is a *Contradiction*. And the Supreme does *ipso facto* cease to be Supreme, and that other Superior becomes Supreme. And if Power of Coercion be given to *Another* over that Superior, that Other becomes Supreme. And so in *Infinitum*. There can be no Basis or Centre of Government, at this Rate.

Therefore my Lord Bacon sets this down as a *Maxim* of our Law, as well as of Reason, That *Suprema Potestas seipsum Dissolvere potest, Ligare non potest*. That the Supreme Power may Dissolve it self, but cannot Limit it self. This is to be understood of Limitations of Coercion. For, no Doubt, the Supreme Power may Grant Concessions. But not so, as to give any other Power over it self; for that Dissolves it.

Now as it is *Absurd* and *Blasphemous* to say, That God can Limit Himself, so as to put Himself under the Coercive Power of any. So it is *Treasonable* and *Inconsistent* with Government to say, That the King can. And this is sufficiently *Secur'd* in the *Act's of Parliament* before Quoted, which Declare, That neither the Parliament, nor the People, either *Collectively*, or *Representatively*, have any Coercive Power over the King.

My Father, as my King, may Limit the Power he has over me, by *Concessions* to me. But to say, That this Infers a Coercive Power in me over him, so that if he breaks those *Conditions* to me, as I think, or please to Pretend; I may lawfully lay Hands upon him, turn him out of Doors, and seize upon his *House and Inheritance* for my self: This Principle would Dissolve all *Relations*, as 'twixt *Children and Parents*, so betwixt King and *Subjects, Servants and Masters*, and in short, of Whole Mankind.

And this is the most Effectual Barr to hinder Kings, Fathers, or Masters to give any *Concessions*. And introduceth a *Necessity* of a *Rigorous Government*: Since no *Favour* can be shew'd, without the *Destruction* of the *Donor*.

There-

Therefore the best *Security* we can have against *Tyranny* in our v.
Governours, is, by a *Dutiful Submission*, to Encourage them to be The best
Good to Us. And by *Loyal Principles* to render them *Safe* and Security a-
Secure in whatever *Concessions* they shall Please to Give Us. No gainst Ty-
Man ever yet Hated his own *Flesh*, but Loveth and Cherisheth
it. All Men desire to preserve their *Possessions*, and what *Be-*
longs to them. The Glory of a *King* is the *Multitude*, the *Rich-*
es, and *Strength* of his *Subjects*. And while they are *True* to
him, he must wish their *Prosperity*.

But *Provocations* and Eternal *Teazing*, the *Dis-Loyalty* and *Re-*
bellion of *Wives*, *Children*, *Servants*, and *Subjects*, may make a
Man hate his own *House*, and seek all Means to *Reduce* them.

And this brings Ten-fold more *Ruin* and *Destruction* upon
them than ever any *People* suffer'd, by Quietly Submitting to
the most Mercileſs *Tyrant*.

If they should *Depose* their *King*, their *New Protector* and *De-*
liverer may prove more *Tyrannical* than *He*. And if they set
up a *New Captain* against their *Deliverer*, he may Prove *Worse*.
Besides, what every such *New Experiment* must Cost them. Till
they come at last to say with the wretched *Secilians*, as Quoted
in the second *Par.* of *New Assoc.* p. 33, 34. *That they who came*
to Deliver them from Tyranny, prov'd the Greatest Tyrants themselves,
and made their Freedom much more Dismal than their former Ser-
vitude.

But no *Age* or *History* can afford Us Instances of this, beyond
our own. I know none can Equal the *Horrid Tyranny* and *Op-*
pression of our *Deliverers* and *Patrons* of *Liberty* in the *Times* of
Forty-One.

Among the many Particulars of which (too long here to be *an notable*
Repeated) I will at present name but *One*, in the very *Infancy* of *Instance*
their Rebellion, when they were making the *Fairest Pretences* in the *of Liber-*
Tear 1642. A *Committee* only of the *House of Commons*, consist-
ing of these *Worthy Patriots*, having first, by *Authority* and
Force of their *Mobb*, *Driv'n away* some, and *Imprison'd* others of
the Lawful Members of their *House*, who they knew would stand
by the Laws; did *Assume* to *Themselves* the *Name* of the *People of*
England; and by an *Ordinance* of their *own*, without *King* or
House

House of Lords, did Impower *Four Men* of their own Choosing, to *Value* every Man's *Estate*, at what they Pleas'd ; (except their own, the *Taxing* of which they Reserv'd to *Themselves*) and to *Levy* from them what *Summ* they thought fit, within the *Twentieth Part* ; (that is indeed what *Summ* they Pleas'd, for they could *Value* at what they Pleas'd) And for *Non-Payment*, to *Distain* by the *Train'd-Bands* ; and for want of sufficient *Distress*, to *Compound* and *Discharge* all *Debts* due to them; and if they suspected any to *Conceal* the *Debts* due to them, to *Imprison* their *Persons* during *Pleasure*, and *Banish* their *Wives* and *Children*. And these *Four Assessors* to be *Un-Accountable* to any *Law* or *Authority* whatsoever, only to their *Constituents* ; for They were now the *People* ! That is, the *Supreme Authority* ! This you will see at Large in *Lord Clarendon's History*, Vol. 2. p 77. Read from p. 75 to p. 82.

Here is an Example of Preserving *Liberty* and *Property* by the *Power of the People*.

And all this, to secure themselves from the *Encroachments*, and the *Fears* they Rais'd of the most *Merciful* and *Benign Prince* that ever sat on the *English Throne* ! Who Granted away to them, by *Piece-meal*, as they were Pleas'd to *Demand* it, all the *Power* and *Prerogative* of the *Crown* ; to *Satisfy* their *Jealousies*. But they were not *Satisfied* while the *Crown* sat upon his *Head*, or his *Head* upon his *Shoulders* !

VI.
Whether
the Un-
Reasona-
bleness of
People, or
the Mal-
Admini-
stration of
tulancy and *Un-Reasonableness* of the *People* ?
Kings are
most to
Blame ?

And when we look into *History*, and find this to have been Generally the *Fate* of the most *Mild* and *Gracious Princes* ; it Prompts Us to Reflect, with a General View, upon the Condition of *Deprav'd Humane Nature*. And to consider, whether the Cause of *More Rebellions* and *Convulsions* of *Government* has Arisen from the *Male-Administration* of *Princes* ; or from the *Pe-
tulancy* and *Un-Reasonableness* of the *People* ?

And because we may be sure of Right *Information*, we will take it from the *Sacred Records*.

Moses.

Moses was the *Meekest Man* upon *Earth*. So *Just*, that he had never taken an *Ox* or an *Aſs* from any of the *People*. Gave them the *Wiseſt Laws* in the *World*, from the *Mouth of God* *Himſelf*.

self. Was set over them by God. He Rescued them from the House of Bondage, by a Multitude of Miracles. Had such a Fatherly Affection to them, as if he had Begotten them All

Three several times he fell down before the Lord, forty Days Deut. ix. each time, without Eating or Drinking, once to Receive the Law, 9. 18. 26. and Twice to Deprecate the Sin of the People, for which God said he would have Destroy'd them, had not Moses his Chosen stood before Him in the Gap, to turn away his Wrathful Displeasure from them. He Pray'd to be Blotted out of the Book of Life Himself, to Save that People; tho' God Promised him, to Raise out of him, a Greater Nation than they.

One would think it Impossible for any People to Mutiny or Rebel against such a Governor as this! Yet never any was so Tormented, as this Meek Man, with their Continual Insurrections. Insomuch that he Pray'd to God to take away his Life, rather than Bear it. They laid Arbitrary Government upon him, and Ambition, to make himself altogether a PRINCE over them. They did not like this Governor of God's Appointment: They were for Popular Election. They would Choose for Themselves. And they said one to another, Let Us make a Captain. And what would they do with Moses? Why Stone him!

They Rebell'd Twice against David, a Man after God's *David.* own Heart, whose Son CHRIST delighted to be call'd. He Fed them with a Faithful and True Heart, and Rul'd them Prudently, with all his Power. He was Glorious in War. And Subdu'd their Enemies under them. But all that was nothing! Nay, but whom the Lord, and this People, and all the Men of Israel Choose, His will I be, and with him will I abide. This is the first time we heard of that Maxim, *Vox Populi, vox Dei.* That the Choice of the People, is the Choice of God!

But if David's Reign was Incumber'd with War, tho' *Victorious.* and that they had a Mind to Live at Ease, his Son *Solomon.* (of God's own Choosing too) gave them perfect Peace and Plenty Un-Parallel'd: He advanc'd their Trade; and made Silver as Stones in Jerusalem. They were the Envy of all Nations for

Riches. He built them a *Temple*, the *Glory* of the whole *World*
And was the *Wiseſt* of All ever Begot by *Man*.

Yet, all this wou'd not do? They Complain'd of *Taxes*, and
his *Toke* was *Loony*! And they *Rebell'd* against his *House* for Ever.

Theocra-
t. There is but one *Step Higher* to go in this *Scale*; and that is
to *God* *Himſelf*. For after the *Meekest* and *Justest*, the most
Pious and *Victorius*, the most *Peaceable*, *Richeſt*, and *Wiseſt*, whom
else of *Mortal Race* shou'd we Name!

But *God* did once *Vouchsafe* to take the *Government* into his
own *Hands*, and to be *King* *Himſelf*. He Nam'd all their *Cap-*
tains and *Judges*, and went out before their *Armies*. But they
grew *Weary* of this *Thencrasie*, and in the Days of *Samuel*, they
Rejected GOD too from being their *King*! And would *Choose*
for *Themſelves*! And of *All* they *Chose*, not one *Prov'd Good*.

Now let us look a little to the other Side, of the *Perverſe-*
ness that is found among the *Generality* of *Mankind*. As we have
seen how *Un-eaſie* and *Mutinous* they are under the most *Mild* and
Gentle Governments: So, on the other hand, where they *Rul'd*
with a *ſtraiſt Reign*, and even *Tyrannically*, they commonly
speak *Beſt* of thoſe *Princes*, and *Adorn* their *Memories*.

How the *Mild Family* of the *Stuarts* have been *Treated* since
they came into *England*, I need not *Repeat*.

And yet none of these *Severities* can be *Alleg'd* in any of
their *Reigns*, as were in thoſe of *Hen. VIII.* or *Q. Eliz.*

That *Usage* which either of them gave their *Parliaments*
would not be born now. *Swearing* at them, and taking their
Members out of the *House*, and *Imprisoning* them during *Pleasure*,
and not suffering any *Reason* to be ask'd them for it. And yet
K. Char. I. but desiring *Justice* against five of their *Members*,
was a *Breach of Privilege*, and a *sufficient Ground* for a *Re-*
bellion!

He Courted the *Fanaticks*, Establish'd them in *Scotland*, In-
dulg'd them in *England*, and even made *Himſelf* a *Sacrifice* to
them. Yet they *Hate* his *Memory*.

Q. Eliz. Prosecuted them with the Utmost *Rigor*. Made Se-
vere *Laws* against them, and put them in full *Execution*.
She reckon'd them, as her *worſt Enemies*, even *worſe* than
the

the *Jesuits* themselves, and to have been Instrumental in the *Spanish Invasion*. As you may see in the Lord Chancellor *Puckering's* Speech, which I have therefore Annexed. Num. 3. And yet they Pretend to Reverence her *Memory* !

One Cause of which I take to be, That when Men are Hind'red from any *Wickedness*, they are willing to take the *Honour* to themselves, of never having *Design'd* it. But rather to have *Suffered* under an Un-just *Suspicion*, Which Use, some of the *Dissenters* late *Books* have made of their Patient *Suffering* under Q. *Eliz.* as a *Testimony* of their *Loyalty* and *Passive Obedience-Principles*, to *Vie* therein with the *Church of England*.

On the other hand, when Men have *Perpetrated* their *Wickedness*, they think themselves obliged to stand by it, and *Justifie* it. And therefore must not afford a good Word to those whom they have *Injur'd*; for that is to Condeinn themselves. And herein is that *Saying* Verified, *That it is he who doth the Injury, cannot Forgive*,

Another Reason there is for this *Perverse Temper of Men*. That the *Multitude* are like the *Waters* (as they are often Represented in the *H. Scriptures*) which will go, as far as they have *Way*. And when they who bear the *Sword of God*, will suffer *Pernicious Principles* to be *Spread*, and the *Populace* to *Rage* and *Swell*; As they are Accountable to *God*, for Bearing his *Sword in vain*, and suffering His *Authority*, with which they are *Entrusted*, to be vilely *Prostituted* to the *Beasts of the People*: So they often let these Bad *Humours* Encrease, till they are *Involv'd*; and seek to *Extricate* themselves by mean *Compliances*, which Render them and their *Authority* more and more *Contemptible*; till at last it be *Wrested* out of their *Hands*; and they themselves often *Perish* with it. For that *Maxim* must for ever remain *Ir-Refragable*, That it is in vain seeking to *Compound* with those who *Contend* for *Power*. For the more they get, the more they must have till they have All. Can one *Exception* be *Produc'd* !

Therefore Q. *Eliz.* Watch'd the Beginnings of the *Faction*, and kept them under; from so much as any *Expectation* of coming into *Places of Power or Trust*; And she had *Peace and Quietness* with them; And has their *Good Word* still.

But K. Car. I. Endeavour'd to *Compound* with them, and Gave them *Part*, that they might not *seek the Whole* ! For which they Condemn'd him as a *Tyrant* and a *Traytor*. And have his *Memory* in *Detestation* !

It had been much better for the *Nation* to have had a Rigorous *King* over them, than a *Prince*, tho' of never so many Personal *Vertues*, who, out of a Mistaken *Clemency*, should let *Factions* Grow to the *Destruction* of the *People*.

VII. A *Tyrant* must *Die*, or may become *Better*. God says, That of *Tyrants* the *Hearts of Kings* are in His *Hands*, and he turns them, as it ^{my and Re-} seemeth best to Him. He sends *Good Kings* to a *Good People*; ^{volution.} and *wicked Princes* for the *Punishment* of a *wicked People*.

But when we have over-turn'd the *Foundation* of *Government*; will let it be no longer from *God*, but set it up upon the *Foot* of the *People*, which has no *Foundation*; It is not for one *Life* or *Age* we may endure the Effects of it ! What did the *Deposition* of Rich. II. cost *England*? A Train of *Misery*, *Blood*, and *Destruktion* for above an Hundred Years, till the *Right Line* was at last *Restor'd* ! And was the Difference betwixt Rich. II. and Hen. IV. worth all this? So that *Tyranny* may *Last* for a *Life*; But *Rebellion*, if it succeeds, for *Ages*.

No *Kingdom* was ever yet *Destroy'd* by the *Tyranny* of a *King*. But by *Rebellion* Many have.

Yet our *Author* thinks *Tyranny* much more *Destructive* to the *People*, than *Popular Revolution*. And proves it thus, p. 18. Let any one Consider the *Cruelties* that have been *Inflicted upon the Poor Protestants in France*; not to mention the many *Illegal Arbitrary Proceedings* that we have seen in our *Nation*, and compare them with the manner with which our *Popular Revolution* was brought about, and try in his *Conscience*, if he can be of his (the *Author* of the *Association's*) *Opinion*. And let any one Reflect upon the *Condition* we must have been in before this time, had not God come in to our *Rescue*, and I am sure it will be *Impossible* for him to *Subscribe* to such *downright Falsities*, and such *Slavish Principles*.

This *Author* is still very *Sure* ! I first, except against the last part of the *Comparison*, What he apprehends might have come to pass! *Jealousies* and *Fears* will bear no *Argument*. A Man may

may be as *Fearful* as he Pleases. There are some who *Fly*, when when none *Pursueth*. And some Pretend *Dangers*, to *Frighten* other Folks ; to Raise *Mobs*, and carry on *Designs*.

But I desire to know what he means by *The many Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings that we have seen in our own Nation* ? I suppose he does not mean the *Last Reign*. Therefore I will not Mention it. It must then be the *Two former Reigns*. For we have seen none other.

By this *Representation*, a *Stranger* would Expect many Men *Massacred*, *Dragoon'd*, *Banish'd*, &c. in the *Reigns* of K. *Char. II.* and K. *James II.* When this is brought in as a *Ballance* to the *Destruction* that Attends *Popular Revolutions*. But when he is told, That no one *Man*, *Woman*, or *Child* can be *Produc'd* in both these *Reigns*, that did Suffer otherwise than by the known *Laws* of the *Land*. Not one *Gaffny'd* or *Glen-Coe'd*. But many *Pardon'd*, and *Re-pardon'd*, who had been in open *Rebellion*, and Detected in several *Affassination-Plots*, to have *Murther'd* the *King*, and *over-turn* both *Church* and *State* ; And this so fully *Prov'd*, as to be *Confessed* even by *Them selves* : I say when this is shew'd to be the *Cafe*, as it Truly is ; What wou'd a *Stranger* think, What shou'd *We* think (we are *Strangers* to our selves !) if such *Writers* as these, who Blacken *Princes*, whose *Mercy* was their *Fault* and their *Ruin*, as if they had been the Greatest *Tyrants* in the *World* ; when yet they have no one *Instance* to shew of what they wou'd so *Impudently* *Impose* upon the *World* !

This Reasonably *Abates* the *Credit* we are to *Give* them, when they speak of *Foreign Affairs*, and bring no *Proof*. Yet I will not take that Advantage, so as to Wave that Part of his *Comparison*, which Relates to the Treatment of the *Hugonots* in *France*. Nor will I seek to *Alleviate* or *Lessen* it, by the known *Principles* of these Men as to *Government*, and the *Deposing* of *Kings* ; Their former Frequent *Rebellions* ; And those *Discoveries*, which the *Advocates* for the *French King* Alledge he had made of their *Treating* with *Foreign Powers*, in Order to an *Insurrection* in his own *Kingdom*. I Wave all this, nor will I undertake the *Proof* of it.

Our *Comparison* lies only as to the *Number* of *Men* that were *Destroy'd* in this *French Persecution*. I have heard much of the *Dragooning* there. And it was very *Barbarous*. I *Detest* it. But I have not heard much of any put to *Death* upon that Account

of Religion, excepting of a Few of their Ministers, who being Banish'd on Pain of Death, did Return. But let the Whole Detail be made out, in the most Ample Manner, we will by no Means Stint them; And when they have Agreed upon the Number, with any sort of Probability, I will give them Leave to Multiply it Ten-fold; And then will Enter upon the Comparison of those who Perish'd —

Not in our late Revolution, as this Author wou'd Fix it: No, I will not meddle with that. I allow that to be an *Exception*. Because it was *Worth All* that it *Cost Us*! What was some *Hundreds* of *Thousands* that were *Starv'd* to *Death*, and Fell by the *Sword* in *Ireland*, in about two *Years* time; besides *Families* and *Persons* that were *Ruin'd*, without *Number*! What were all those who *Perish'd* in *Scotland*; And in our *Ten-Years War* *Abroad*, by *Sea* and *Land*! What was All this; Besides about *Eighty Millions* in *Taxes* (more than all our *Kings* since *William the Conqueror* had, put together.) What was all this, if it had been *Ten times more*, in Comparison of the *Preservation* of our *Laws* and *Liberties*! But this I will say, That this is the first *Popular Revolution* that ever was worth the while!

Therefore I will carry our Comparison Higher, to the *Former of Forty-One*. And to that of *Tork and Lancaster*. And will Double the Advantage I before offer'd this Author, as to the Number of those who *Perish'd* and were *Ruin'd*, in either of these *Revolutions*; compar'd with those who *Perish'd* in the late *French Persecution* of the *Hugonots*. And I will give this latest of the *Sevennois* into the Bargain. Nay I will go further, and let him Add to the Account, the late *Persecutions* of the *Protestants* in *Hungary*, and in *Savoy*. So vast a *Dis-proportion* there is betwixt *Tyranny* and *Revolution*! And so little Reason has this Author to call these things *downright Falsities*, which are as *Flagrant Truth*, as the *Sun at Noon-day*! But none so *Blind* as they who will not *See*.

As little Ground had he, to call the *Jure Divino* *Doctrines*, *Slavish Principles*. For let these *Doctrines* be *True* or *False*; It cannot surely be call'd so *Slavish*, to submit my self to one *Royally Born*, sprung from the Loins of many *Kings*! Whom I believe

believe to be Invested with a *Divine Commission* ; and likewise Better for the *Salus Populi*, and Preservation of the Publick *Peace and Security* ; And whose *Heart*, GOD says, He keeps in His own *Hand* ; And that he will Eternally Reward those who *Faithfully Serve, Honour, and Humbly Obey such in Him, and for Him*, according to his *Blessed Word and Ordinance*, considering whose *Authority* such an *One hath*, that is God's. Now whether is it more *Slavish* to *Obey* such an *One*, for *Conscience* towards God ; or to put my self *Creepingly* under the *Feet of the Beasts of the People*, of one upon the same *Level* with my self, it may be, *Worse Born* ; and who by *Hypocrisie and Trick*, has squeez'd himself into *Power*, perhaps, by *Undermining Me*, who had the same *Plot* upon *Him* ! And stands upon no other *Foundation*, than a *Pack'd Party* who call *Themselves the People* ; To which I have as good *Right*, if I can get a *Party* to follow me ; And so has every other, if he were my *Foot-Man*, or a *Massanello*, who can do the same ; Whether is more *Honourable*, or more *Slavish*, to submit *Tamely* under such an *One*, or, which is worse, a *Mobb* of them ; without any *Rules of Law*, or *Constitution*, but what they Please to Call so ; And in Opposition to all the *Laws of God and Man* ; To the *Trampling* down of all *Nobility*, and *Distinctions of Men* ; I leave it to any *Man of Honour or Sense*, Whether there is not more of *Slavery and Poorness of Spirit* in *Submitting* to such, than to a *King*, whom it is an *Honour to Serve* ; And has been so Reputed, in the whole *Earth*, from the first *Division of Nations*, to this Day ; except among a *Sett of Filthy Dreamers*, who have of late Years, Rose up in our *Land* ; *Who speak Evil of the things they Understand not* ; *And are not Afraid to despise Dominion, and speak Evil of Dignities* ; *Whereas Angels dare not bring Railing Accusations against them, tho' Wicked, tho' the Devil himself* ! The *Blessed Angels* serve *VVillingly*, in the several *Ranks* of that *Hierarchy* wherein God has *Plac'd them* ; And this is their *perfect Freedom*. The Devil wou'd not *keep his first Principality*, and is a *Slave in his Rebellion* ! To *Serve a Nobler* than my self, is *Honourable* ; but to *Serve my Inferior, or Equal*, is *Slavish*. Happy is that *Land* whose *King* is the *Son of Nobles* And Wretched are those *People*, over whom *Servants bear Rule*.

Having

ix. Having thus Dispatch'd these *Popular Objections* of our *Author* ;
 of a Li- Let Us now Pursue the *Argument*, we have been upon ; and con-
 mited and clude it with the Explaining of some *Words*, which are a *Stum-
 Mix'd bling-Block* to Many, because not well Understood ; These are
 Monarchy. the *Phrases* of a *Limited* and *Mixed Monarchy*, which are in
 Every Bodies Mouth, and the Burden of all our *Republican*, and
Whig-Pamphlets.

They say, That *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* are a *Mixture of* *Monarchy*, *Aristocracie*, and *Democracie*, altogether. For that the *Supreme Power* is *divided* between them. Thence they Raise their *Ballancing of Power*, between these *three Supremes*. Of which sufficient has been said before, That it is *Nonsense* and *Contra-
 diction*. That *Power* is *One*, and therefore cannot be *divided*, &c.

But must there be no *Limitation* then, or *Mixture of Monarchy* ? *Mixture* can be *None*. That cannot be in the *Nature of the Thing*. All the *Mixture* is this, That the *Lords*, who are the *Aristocratical Part*, and the *Commons*, who are the *Democratical*, do both Compose the *King's Great Council of the Parliament*. Which is an *Excellent and Wise Disposition*. As it is said, *In the Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety*. But then the *Supreme Power* is only in the *King*, not in these *three Kings*. As it is likewise said, *For the Wickedness of a Land, many are the Princes thereof*. One *King*, and Many *Counsellors*. That is the *Safest*. And it is *Our Constitution*.

Dismissing then this *Mixture of Government*, let Us come to the *Limitations*.

May not a *Monarch* be *Limited* ? Yes, as is said before, He may *Limit* *Himself*, by *Limitations* and *Concession*. And, in this *Sense*, ours is the most *Limited*, and Consequently the Most *Happy Government* in the *World* ; if we know our own *Happiness*, and will be *Content* with it.

But as to *Limitations of Coercion*, the *King* cannot *Limit* *Himself*, nor be *Limited* by any other. For that Moment the *Govern-
 ment* is *dissolv'd*. And nothing but *Confusion* can follow. And our *Laws* have sufficiently *secur'd* against any *limitation of Coercion*, as before has been shew'd.

In the next Place I will say, That no *Commonwealths*, or what they call *Popular Governments* (tho' no such ever truly was, or can be in the World) have Granted such *Limitations of Concession*, as *Monarchs*, at least, *Ours* have done. And no *Subjects* in the World may be so *Easie and Happy* as We ; if that *Rebellious Principle* of *Coercing* our *Kings*, and making our selves *Co-ordinate* with Him, were once Rooted out from among Us. If we wou'd be Guided either by *Reason*, or *Scripture*, the *Law* of the *Land*, or, the *Experience* of all *Ages*, chiefly of *our own*. Till when, *Peace* and *Settlement* will be as Impossible to us, as to Reconcile *Contradictions*.

And without Reflecting upon One or Another *Party*, considering them only as *Men*, where there is a *Contest* for *Power*, one or the other must Have it. And there can never be any *Settlement* in such a *State* of things. Or any *Government* Fix'd without a certain *Foundation*, *Centre*, and Ultimate *Arbitrator*. Which can never be the *People*. They are the *Party* to be *Govern'd* ; And therefore cannot be the *Governors*.

And now we have seen all that is said in this *Occasional Letter* against the *Principles* laid down in the *New Assoc.* I could take Advantage of several *Expressions*. But all I Aim at is to settle *Principles*. And I shall be Glad if any will shew me, wherein I have *Reason'd Amiss* ; Or Mistaken the Sense of the *Holy Scriptures* ; or of our own *Laws* and *Constitution* ; Or in Matter of *Fact*, as to the Dreadful *Consequences* of these *Popular Principles*, which take *Government* from off the *Foundation* of *Divine Right* and *Establishment* ; And place it upon the *Face* of the *VVaters*, upon the *Giddy Multitude*, perpetually *Ebbing*, and *Flowing*, and *Raised* up into *Storms* and *Tempests*, by every *Breath* of *Seditious Spirits* to their own *Destruction* ; and overthrow of all *Order*, *Laws*, and *Constitution*.

And the Endeavouring to settle sure and Lasting *Foundations* of *Government*, in Opposition to these *Popular no Principles*, of *Sedition* and *Eternal Confusion*, is all the Reason I know that has stirr'd up the *Wrath* of these *Orators* for the *Populace*. And it is a sufficient *Reason*, in one Sense, That while they are

x.

Character given of the New Assoc.

Resolv'd not to *Repent*, they wou'd not be *Inform'd*, nor have others to be set *Right*. And if the *Principles of Government* before-mention'd, of a *Divine Original* and *Right*, cannot be *Disprov'd*; nor the other supported, of Founding it upon the *People*, then the *Temple of the Republican-Dagon* Tumbles down all at once; And *Restless Spirits* are *Dis-arm'd* of their Main and Perpetual *Pretence* for stirring Men up to *Sedition* and *Rebellion*. This is it which makes them so *Angry*, so *Exceedingly Concern'd* at all *Discourses* of this Nature; And to Treat the *Authors* with so much the more *Rage* and *Malice*, the less they find themselves *Able to Answer* them.

It was this, which made the *Occasional Letter*, p. 7. call the *New Assoc. The most Malicious and Virulent Book of the Age*. And tell the *Author*, That he Deserves the *Pillory*. And again, p. 25, 26. *This Writer has the best way of turning every thing, without any Prejudice to a Party, just to his own Humour, of any Man I ever met with.*

But Sir, there is an *Easie Receipt* for this, and is no such *Master-piece* in that *Author*. There goes no more to it than this, To fix *True Principles*, from which it is easie for any *Man* to Argue; and to have no other *Humour* or *Design*, than to find out the *Truth*; And then, *every thing will turn just to his own Humour*; And that *without any Prejudice to a Party*, while he only Battles their *Principles*; And thereby Endeavours to Reclaim them from their *Evil Practices*: Which likewise he *May* and *Ought* to Lay before them, *Fully and Freely*, to Deter them the more from *Relapsing* into them. And all this, without any *Prejudice* to them. No. It is the greatest *Kindness* can be shew'd to them. Much *Greater* than to *Sooth and Palliate*, and *Excuse* them! And if any will *Harden* themselves against all *Conviction*, and Return nothing but *Railing and Billingsgate* to whatever *Reasons* or *Arguments*; and seek to *Pervert* others, by *Corrupting the Right ways of Truth*; such are to be *Rebuk'd Sharply*, to save others from their *Infection*. Especially when the *Support* or *Ruin* of a *Nation* depends upon it.

Concerning the E. Arch-Bishop *Tillotson* said very well, *That we must not use* *Indignation of Mildness in the Case of a Wilful and Heinous Sin, especially if it be* *Children. Exemplary, and of Publick Influence. To Rebuke Gently upon such* *Serm. 2.* *an*

an Occasion, is rather to Countenance the Fault, and seems to Argue that we are not sensible enough of the Enormity of it, and that we have not a due Dislike, and Detestation for it. Such cold Reproofs as those which Old Eli gave his Sons, 1 Sam. 2. 23, 24. Why do you such things; For I hear of your Evil Dealing by all this People. That is, their Carriage was such as gave Publick Scandal: Nay, my Sons, it is not a good Report that I hear, you make the Lord's People to Transgres. Such a Cold Reproof as this, where the Crime was so Great and Notorious, was a kind of Allowance of it, and a Partaking with them in their Sin; And so God Interprets it.

And so no doubt He will, if we give Allowance to the Witchcraft of Rebellion, and Partake with it, by such Mild and Gentle Reproofs, as seem rather to Countenance or Excuse it: And not to give Men a Due Horror and Detestation of so Destructive a Wickedness, for which they will Receive to themselves Damnation; And which Hurries them to their own Destruction, and of the whole Community with them! This Sin ought to be Painted out in its Proper Colours; the Wicked Nature, and Dismal Consequences of it should be Expos'd to the Full, that it be not thought a Small and Indifferent thing:

To this there is a Strange Answer given, That if this Faction are so Implacable in their Principles, if they enter into Associations that are Treasonable by Law, And if they have done such and such things, which are there set down, and Quoted out of the New Assoc.— Well, What then? What Inference does he draw from it? Do's he Deny any of these things? Or say, That they are Falsly Charg'd? No. He says not a Word against the Truth of the Charge. For the Associations are set down verbatim in the New Assoc. And the whole Charge Prov'd in every Particular, past the Possibility of a Denial; And this Author do's not Deny one Word of it. But makes this Inference, as the Plain Design of the New Assoc. viz. That the Government, for its own Security, and for Recompensing them that they have Deserved, should order Gallows to be Erected, and without more ado should have them all Hang'd. And calls to Mind again The Shortest Way. They are still Fond of that Precious Piece! Guilty Conscience!

Occa-
sional Let-
ter, p. 8.

But the *New Assoc.* is so far from Intending any thing of this *Hanging* Business, That he Expressly Clears himself from it; And shews his Meaning to be no more than to Trust them with the Power of Acting their former *Mischiefs* over again. And no *Answer* is given to that in this *Occasional Letter*. But the Objection Repeated over again, That nothing but *Hanging* was the Design! Nay, it is said, *That it is a very plain and necessary Inference.*

Now, by this way of Argument, if that *Author* had Qoted, *Rom. xiii. 2.* That *they who Resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation*, then it had been as *Plain and Necessary* an *Inference*, That he design'd their *Damnation* as well as *Hanging*, because they *Deserv'd* Both.

At this Rate, no Man must Preach *Sin* to be *Damnable*! Nor tell the *People* of their *Sins*, lest he be thought to have a *Design* to *Damn* them All!

Wolf
Stripp'd.
Append.
N. 2.

We have been told of another *Association*, since those mentioned in the *New Assoc.* (And it is Given Us likewise *Verbatim*) by some of the same *Faction*; and *Affixed* up *Publickly* upon the *Mercat-Cross* of a *Royal Borough*, at *Noon-day*, by about *Seven Hundred Men in Arms*, in the Name of all the *True Presbyterians in Scotland*; And Order'd to be *Dispers'd* all over the *Kingdom*; wherein they Renounce *Queen Ann*, in Express Words, because She had Promis'd to support *Episcopacy* in *England*; which having been once a *Covenanted Kingdom*, they will have it so Again, to the Peril of their *Lives*, and All that they have.

Now, is not this *Treason*? Must it not therefore be Mention'd? Tho' to no other Purpose, than to keep the *Sword* out of the *Hands of People* so *Principl'd*; and not to Trust them with the *Power*, who have all along Given Abundant Demonstration, that they want not the *Will* to *Destroy Us, our Church and Government*! I say, must not this be Mention'd, without a *Design* to have them all *Hang'd*? Is there not such a thing as *Repentance* and *Amendment*, upon the full Discovery of *False* and *Pernicious Principles*? Or, if they be past that, to secure what others we can from falling into their *Snares*? Or Lastly, That the *Chnrch* and the *Monarchy* shou'd stand upon their *Guard*, and *Watch*.

Watch such Restless Spirits, and Inveterate Enemies to Both? Must We have a Design to Destroy Them, except we give Them Leave to Destroy Us?

Here is an Invincible *Asylum* to all *Rebellion*, and to *Blacken* any who speak against it; That they are *Cruel* and *Merciless* Men, who have a *Design* against the *Lives* of those they call *Rebels*! Tho' the *Proofs* be never so *Flagrant*, and the *Principle* *Justify'd* by *Them All*, by every *One of Them*, without *Exception*; And *Propagated* in *Print*, all over the *Nation*, to *Poyson* it, and to *Ruin* bring. And the *Principle* of *Loyalty*, and *Patient Submitting* for *Conscience* sake, on Account of any *Divine Character* or *Authority* in *Kings*, is, by these Men made the *Feast* and *Hatred* of the *People*. And they who are for *Peace* and *sett'l'd Government*, are call'd *Persecutors*, and *Tyrannical*, because they *Fear God* and the *King*, and *Meddle not with those that are given to Change*! Now whether their *Arguments* be *Good* or *not*, yet it is certain their *Design* is *Peace* and *Quietness*, and rather to *Suffer Injuries*, than to *Offer them*: And it is what they are *Per-suaded* is the *Best* for *Salus Populi*, and *Attended* with much less *Ruin* and *Destruction* to the *Community*, than what they suffer by *Popular Revolutions*. Yet this is call'd a *Bloody* and *Tyrannical Principle*, whereas that of *Rebellion* and *Perpetual Innovations*, is call'd *Generous*, and likewise *Merciful*, tho' it *Destroy* one *Half* of the *People*, to *Preserve* the *Rest*; and *Sacrifice* to every *Prevailing Faction*, the *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Properties* of the *whole Nation*, with all its *Laws* and *Constitutions*!

Now as a *Sample* of these two *Sorts* of Men, Let Us Look into these two *Books* here before us. The *New Assoc.* having Prov'd the *VVbigs* and *Dissenters* to have been formerly *Perfidious*, *Designing*, and *Rebelling*, and *Enemies* to *Church* and *State*, carries the *Consequence* no farther than not to have them *Intrust-ed* with the *Power* to *Act* all this over again: But the *Occasional Letter* says, p. 28. *And indeed were they as bad as he has describ'd them, I could not but think that Hanging or Banishment is what they well Deserv'd, and what the Common Safety Required.*

Now as to his *Suppose*, whether they were so *Bad*, *Perfidious*, *Designing*, and *Rebellious*, the *Proof* is *Hard Matter of Fact*, which will not be *Deny'd*! And tho' this *Author* and other of their

Advocates

Advocates, do Deny the Charge in the *whole* ; yet they Answer not the *Particulars*, nor can Deny any One of them.

But this shews how they would Deal with those whom they esteem their *Enemies*, as the *High Church*, &c. if it were in their Power ; to make *Root* and *Branch* work with *Episcopacy*, according to the Maxim in their *Private Accademies*, which Mr. *VVesley* has shewn in his *Letter* concerning them, and the *Defence* of it, lately *Printed* for R. *Clavel*, and James *Knaplock* in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1704. Which are well worth the Reader's Perusal, and the Consideration of our *Superiors*.

XI.
of the
Calves-
Head
Feasts.

This Occasional *Letter*, p. 29. falls upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for mentioning the *Calves-Head-Feasts*, and joyns with him in the same Accusation, The *Author* of the *Dedication* of the *Second Volume* of the *Lord Clarendon's History*, and Replies smartly upon him, thus, *The Author* of that *Dedication* might indeed know of *Publick Musick* and *Rejoycing* on that *Day*, at *Oxford*, where his *Dedication* was *Printed*. But if any where else such *Rejoycings* or *Feastings* have been *Practis'd* on that *Solemn Day*, these *Gentlemen* might know, that the *Party* at whose *Door* such *Impiety* is laid, *Abhor*, and *Dis-own* it as much as themselves.

Here is *Scandal* thrown, no Matter whom it hits. As to the *Publick Rejoycings* at *Oxford*, I leave the *Author* to *Explain*, and the *Persons* Concern'd to *Answer*. I will only say for the Present, that this comes from a *Party*, to whom *Slander* is no new thing, especially when thrown in *Immuendo's*, which they know sufficient to those with whom they have to do.

But I observe he do's not put *Feasting* into his *Oxford Accusation*, and as for *Musick*, that is not always a Sign of *Rejoycing*. There are *Lamentations*, and *Penitential Psalms*, and *Psalms* are usually Sung at *Executions*. But he calls it *Publick Musick*. Why? Was it at the *Theatre*? But tho' *Feasting* be not in the *Premises*, he has slid it into the *Conclusion*, to make the *Charge* Full and Round ! For he says, If any where else such *Rejoycings* or *Feastings* have been *Practis'd*, &c. Which Implies, they were *Practis'd* there; unless he thinks to come off, when Question'd, by the *Particle*, *Or*, which may refer to *One* or *Both*. If so, it was more *Artful* than *Honest*. And if the *Evening* of a *Fast-day* be Clos'd

Clos'd up with Answerable *Musick*, is that Equal to the making it a *Feast-Day* ?

But how do's he come to make an *If* of it? *If anywhere else* — As if he had never heard one tittle of these *Calves-Head Feasts*, which are so Notorious in *London*, their *History and Anthems* Printed, and have been continued from that *Fatal Day* to this! One would Fancy this not wrote by an *Englishman*!

But it is a Happiness every Man is not Born to, to *Believe, See, and Hear*, just as he *Pleases*!

But this *Author* further says, *That the Party at whose door such an Impiety is laid, Abhor and Disown it.*

First, as to the *Party* he supposes concern'd, he must *Know* them very well, else he cold not so frankly *Undertake* for them. And they are the same whose *Principles* brought to pass the *Dismal Tragedy* of that *Day*. And they seem more Consequential to themselves, who *Avow* both the *Principle* and the *Fact* pursuant to it, than they who still *defend* the *Principle*, but would *disown* the *Effects* of it.

For, Sir, you must know, That it is not the *Meat*, but the *Principles* of those *Feasts*, which Render them so *detestable*; that is, the *Deposing-Doctrine*, and setting up the *Power of the People* above the *King*. For if those *Principles* be true, that *King died* by the *Sentence* of his Proper *Judges* and *Superiors*. And *Justly*, too, for *Denying* of their *Supream Authority*, and *Refusing* to be *Try'd* by it.

Now, Sir, If you Please to *Examine* over that *Party* for whom you have *Vouch'd*, and see how many of *them* will *Renounce* their *Calves-Head Principles* — And all the Rest are of the *Club*, whether they come to their *Feasts* or not. By this *Test* we shall find whether this *Calves-Head-Club*, consists only of a *Few* profligate *Men*, as this *Author* Represents it, or of *those in general, who are Represented under the Name of WHIGS*, whose *Principles* he undertakes to *Vindicate*, and says, *They are Entirely for our Monarchy, as by Law Establish'd, and for all that Allegiance to Kings and Queens, which the Law of God and Man requires.* How far the *Deposing Doctrine* is Consistent with these, has been spoke to before, and particularly as to the *Laws of the Land*, *Exprest in full*

full and very particular *Acts* of *Parliament*, yet *Un-repeal'd*, as to any *Coercive Power* over the *King*, in the *People* either *Collectively* or *Representatively*. So that if we will be Determin'd by the *Laws*, the *Laws* have Determin'd Us: And if we fly Higher, to the *Original of Nations* upon the *Earth*, then we hope from the next *Occasional Letter* (since we are to have more, for this is but *Numb. 1.*) a *Clearer* and more *Certain Account* of it than what is before given. Till which be done, it is not a *Few Profligate*, but the whole *Body* of the *Whigs*, that lie under the *Imputation*. And they are desired to shew, How they *have always Detested the Barbarous Murther of K. Ch. I.* (as this Author says) while they *have always Maintain'd* the very same *Principles*, which (more *Guiltily* than the *Ax*) cut off his *Head*! And which still do *Tbreaten* all *Kings* and *Queens* that ever shall wear the *Crown* in *England*! And which actually pass the same *Sentence* upon All who are not *Better* than that *Blessed Martyr*! Who are not more *Vertuous*, more *Pious* than He! More *Willing*, more *Ready* to Give up their *Prerogative*, and *Grant Concessions*, to whatever *Prevailing Party* Pretend to *Act* in the *Name* of the *People*! Or, who *Obstinately*, like him, shall deny the *Authority* of these their *Constituents*, to call them to *Account*, to *Adjudge* the *Crown* from off their *Heads*, or their *Heads* off their *Shoulders*! For that is the Highest *Treason* and *Rebellion* any *King* can commit against his *Sovereign Lord*, the *People*! It is a downright *Dis-owning* of their *Authority*, and *Usurping* it to *Himself*! It is a making *Them* his *Subjects*, instead of his being *Subject* unto *Them*!

Now when the *Whigs* call it a *Barbarous Murther* in the *People*, to put such a *King* to *Death*: And yet Maintain the same *Principle* upon which they did it; it is Impossible *Both* shou'd be *True*, because they are *Contradictions*; And in which of them they Play the *Hypocrite* is easily Discern'd; while they *Act* upon the one, the *Principle* of *Power* in the *People*, openly *Assert* and *defend* it; and *Persecute* those who Deny it, as *dis-affection*, *Seditious*, and which is worse, as *High-Church-Men*! But their Acknowledgments to the *Martyr*, is only in *WWords*, and that very *Short*, a *Passing Expression* or so, for *Popularity* sake, since it is the *Fashion*; but without any *Reason* given for it, or so much as saying, That he did not deserve to *die*, who Deny'd, and Refus'd

Refus'd to Submit himself to the Supream Power of the People. Such Crocodile-Tears as they bestow upon the Hearse of the Martyr, while they Justifie the Fact in all its Consequences, is a more Outrageous and Provoking Mockery, than the Bare-fac'd Impudency of the Calves-Head-Feasts!

— But if there are any indeed of so very weak a Judgment, as to think that they can pay a just Veneration to the Memory of the Martyr, and yet Retain the Principle of Power in the People; This is to let them see, that they must Part with One, for they cannot Serve Two such Masters.

I am told, That last 30th of January, at one of the Principal of their Calves-Head-Feasts here in London, they used a sort of a Symbolical Ceremony, of Sticking their Knives, all at once, into the Biggest of the Calves-Heads, thereby Engaging themselves in a Band of Unity, for the Restauracion of Puss, that is, their Commonwealth; And the Extirpation of Monarchy, especially in the Line of the Martyr, whom they thus Represented. And in one of their Poems since Published, this Year 1704. Intituled, *Faction Display'd. The Second Part.* Which deserves its Room among their Anthems, they speak it out as Plainly, p. 21. Where Justifying the Deposition of the Late K. Jam. II. They say.

*I own the Right an Injur'd Nation did,
When She from Rome Her Threatn'd Altars freed,
Applaud the Just and more Approv'd Design,
Of quite Exploding that detested Line.*

Is not this fair Warning (in Print, and Cry'd about the Streets) to his Daughter, now Sitting upon his Throne!

When any Person is Dear to us, we use to Embalm his Memory, and cannot seek Occasions to Bespatter and Revile him; As this Author does, tho' he says he does it not, p. 9, 10. viling the Where coming to Answer the Abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland, Memory and the Cruel Usage the Clergy met with there in the last Reign; of King he Confesses the Charge, for it was not to be Deny'd, and the only Method he could find to lessen the Weight of it, was, to lay Tyr.

XII. *This Author's Reply to the Author of the Mac-*
Load

Load much more *Heavily* upon King *Charles the First*, for the same, and says, That what he advances, p. 10. *Sets off King W's Management of the Affair to better Advantage than that of his Royal Grandfather's*. Of which the Reader shall Judge when I have offer'd these few Considerations, not to Aggravate against the *Grandson*, but to do Justice to the *Memory of the Royal Grand-father*.

I Grant this to be the Greatest and most Fatal *Blot* in that *Good King's Reign*. But he severely *Repented* of it. And *Aggravates* it against himself. Thus says he to God in his *Confession*, *Was it through Ignorance that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worship to be set up in Scotland? And Injured the Bishops in England? O no; but with Shame and Grief I confess, that I there-in followed the Perswasions of Worldly Wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a Right Inform'd Conscience; wherefore, O Lord, I have no Excuse to make, no Hope left, but in the Multitude of thy Merciess* — I hope this Author will be able to produce to us as truly *Christian* and *Heroical* a *Confession* of the *Grandson's*, and then it would be very Wicked, and a *Breach of Charity* to remember his *Sin* any more, to his *Dis-advantage*.

But the *Grand-father* Expres'd his *Repentance* in more than *Words*, for he *Sealed* it with his *Blood*; and chose rather to lose his *Head*, than consent to such another *Act of Abolition of Episcopacy in England*. Whether his *Grandson* might not have done the same, if it had come to the *Tryal*, I will not say, but leave it to this *Author*, to give us what *Indexes* of it he has observed; because he speaks of himself, as one let into his most secret *Councils*; for he says, p. 10. *I have great Reason to be Confident he (K. Will.) had such a Design (of Restoring Episcopacy in Scotland) if ever he could have had it in his Power to have Effected it.* Now whatever *Reason* this *Author* had to be *Confident* of K. W's *Design*, which I will not Ask, for I care not to be Intrusted with *Secrets*; yet he would Oblige the World to let us know why it was not in his *Power* to have *Effected* it! When the first *Rabble Presbyterian-Convention* was continued all his *Reign*, against all the *Solicitations* could be made to give the *Nation* a Free *Election*. And why were the *Bishops* turn'd out, and the *Episcopal Clergy* *Rabbl'd* and *Dis-possess'd*, before the *Oaths* were put to 'em,

or known which of them would *swear* to the Government, or not?

He says (*ibid.*) That K. W. *made no Grants of the Church Lands in Scotland.* This was his *Ignorance* or his *Innocence!* For when Her present Majesty had Piously design'd to apply the *Bishops Revenues in Scotland* towards the Support of the Surviving *Bishops*, and *Depriv'd Episcopal Clergy* there, it has been found upon Enquiry, that almost the whole of them have been *Granted* away, and that even by *Act of Parliament*, to *Lay-men* there, so that there is but a *Pittance* left for Her Majesty to Dispose of. While Mr. *Carstares*, who was in the *Rye-House Conspiracy*, enjoys the whole Revenue of the *Bishoprick of Dunblane*, by *Grant* from K. *William*.

But from the whole of this *Story*, there is a *Useful Lesson*, to shew what it is will *Please* some sort of People. For when K. *Char. I.* had *Granted* all that they did *Desire*, or could *Invent* for their *Security*, even to the *Abolition of Episcopacy*, and, as this Author Quotes my Lord *Clarendon's History*, *Whatsoever else they were Pleased to present to him, concerning Church or State, so that he seem'd to have made that Progress into Scotland, only that he might make a perfect Deed of Gift of that Kingdom;* Insomuch that they *Declar'd* they had no more to *Ask*, and that he left them, as the Phrase then went, a *Contented King* from a *Contented People*; and on that Occasion Renew'd their *Vows and Assurances* of *Perpetual Loyalty*, &c. Yet all the use they made of these *Condescensions* of His Majesty, and the *Power* which he had put into their *Hands*, was to *Raise an Army* against him, and follow him into *England*, in Conjunction with their *Good Brethren* there, who were in *Rebellion* against him; and *Declaring* that they would not be Satisfied till the same thing was done in *England*, That *Episcopacy* should be *Abolished*, and the whole *Power* put into the *Hands* of the *Faction* there, as has been done in *Scotland*. Which you may see in the said Lord *Claredon's History*, Vol. 2. p. 283, 292, 295, &c.

This shews how far any *Party*, that contends for *Power*, will be contented with a certain *Share* of it!

XIII.

What will Please the Dissenters

The Proceeding of the Parliament of Scotland, 1703. Printed 1704. P. 20.

Yet the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, even then when they were at the Highest in the Reign of K. *Char. I.* And afterwards, when having *Murther'd* him, they had the whole *Government* in their own Hands, did not in all that time go the Length that they have done now in *Scotland*, to make it *High Treason* to Speak, *Act*, or *Write* in Defence of *Episcopacy*, or against *Presbyterian* Government in the *Church*.

So that we see, as Men Grow *Older*, they grow *Wiser* in *Mischief*, as well as in *Vertue*! We say, *Use* makes *Perfect*. And the longer Men have *Practis'd Rebellion*, they come to their Work more *Expedite*ly! These Men have already Issued *Declarations*, Renouncing Q. *Ann* (as beforemention'd) because She has Promis'd to support *Episcopacy* in *England*; into which they are resolv'd to bring their *Covenant*, and *Presbytery*, as they did before; which their *Predeceſſors* in *Forty-One*, did not so much as pretend to, in the Beginning of their *Insurrection*. Their Party was not then so well *Fix'd*, nor had that *Power* in *England*, as they think they have *Now*!

xv. How far the Whiggs and Disſenters were concerned in the Murther of K. *Char. I.* But Leaving this Melancholly Subject to the *Wisdom* of our *Superiors*, I go on to Examine the Ground and Foundation of the *Whig-Loyalty*, which this Author Infists upon, That they have always detest the Barbarous *Murther* of K. *Char.* Some of the *Presbyterians*, tho' not many, have spoke against it. And on that *Head*, have Endeavour'd to Represent themselves as *Loyal* Men. Therefore it is fit every Reader should know the Truth of that Matter, which is this;

That some time before the *Murther* of K. *Char. I.* The *Independent* Party, and *Oliver* at the Head of them, had *Out-trick'd*, and *Worm'd-out* the *Presbyterians*, by the like *Artifices*; as they before *Outed* the *Cavaliers*: This Enrag'd the *Presbyterians* beyond all Measure, to find themselves *Over-witted* and *Supplanted*, by those whom they taught to *Rebel*. And as great *Violence* was shew'd by these *Parties* against one another (calling each other *Sectaries*, *Pirfidious*, *Treacherous*, *Betrayers* of the *Rights* of the *People*, &c.) as either of them had before Spew'd out against the *Church* or the *Crown*.

In this falling out of *Thieves*, the *Church* gain'd so much, That those Arguments which she had made use of against the *Presbyterians*, of Causing *Separation*, and Breaking the *Unity* of the *Church*, were Urg'd by the *Presbyterians*, with Greater *Violence* against the *Independents*, whom they call'd *Sectaries*, Disturbers of the *Peace* of *Jerusalem*, &c. And on the other hand, all the *Pretences* which the *Presbyterians* had set up against the *Bishops*, of Assuming *Spiritual Jurisdiction*, and *Lording* it over their *Brethren*, were Retorted with Advantage, by the *Independents* against the *Presbyterians*, and their *Classical Constitution*; whose *Little Finger* was shew'd to be *Thicker* than the *Loins* of *Episcopacy*.

And as to the *King*, each endeavour'd to Blacken the other, with that Part of the *Rebellion*, which was separately their *Share*. The *Presbyterians* laid the *King's Death* upon the *Independents*. The *Independents* said, they *Kill'd* no *King*. That the *Presbyterians* had long before *Un-King'd* him, and *Despoil'd* him of all *Marks of Royalty*, had *Reduc'd* him perfectly to a *Private Person*, and carry'd him up and down a *Prisoner*, for the *Shew* of the *People*! That the *Independents* had indeed, at last, *Mump'd* the *Presbyterians* of him, and made their own Advantage of this *Royal Sacrifice*, which the *Presbyterians* had *Design'd*; And were now *Envag'd* to see others, and their *Younger Brother*, Reap the *Fruit* of all their *Labours*.

Upon this Head, it is not to be Forgot, which is told in the *New Assoc.* Par. 2. p. 25. But nothing Reply'd to it in this *Occasional Letter*, That the *General Assembly* of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, did by their *Declaration* Dated *July 31, 1648*, Condemn the *Resolution* of the *Scots-Parliament*, which still Remain'd so *Loyal*, as to Raise an *Army* for the *Rescue* of the *King* out of the *Hands* of his *Murtherers*; which they did, and sent it into *England*, under the Command of *Duke Hamilton*, this was commonly call'd, The *Duke's Engagement*. Which *Engagement*, the *General Assembly*, by their *Declaration* aforesaid, did call an *Unlawful Engagement*, and *Thunder'd* out their *Anathema's* against it; as they Afterwards when the *King* was *Murther'd*, put all those to *Open Penance*, with the utmost *Rigour*, who had been concern'd in it; to shew, That they were no way *Aiding* or *Affording* to his *Death*! But the very next *Day* after this their *Declaration*

ration against the Duke's Engagement, viz. On the first of August, 1648, they Issued a Declaration and Exhortation to their Brethren in England, wherein they Address themselves to the King, in these Words, *Albeit Your Majesty, through the Suggestions of Evil Men, may haply entertain hard Thoughts of Us, and our Proceedings, yet the Searcher of Hearts knows, and our Consciences bear Record unto Us, that we bear in our Spirits those Humble and Dutiful Respects of Your Majesty that Loyal Subjects owe to their Native Sovereign, And that it would be our Greatest Contentment upon Earth, to see Your Majesty Reigning, &c.*

And as if this had not been Enough, they Eleven Days after, viz. On the 12th of the same August, 1648, sent their Humble Supplication to the King, wherein they tell him, *That they were very sensible of His Majesty's Sufferings and Low Condition; That they did not in the least measure, Approve, but from their Hearts Abbor any thing that had been done to His Majesty's Person; And that they did not oppose his Majesty's Restitution to the Exercise of his Royal Power, &c.*

And yet, at the same time, they *Protested* against His Majesty's being Admitted to come to any of his Houses, in or near London, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, as they had *Stipulated* for him, when they had *Sold* him (for it was the *Presbyterian Faction* only, and not the *Nation* which did it) or for *Concluding* any *Treaty* or *Agreement* with Him till he had first taken the *Covenant*, *Abolish'd Episcopacy* in *England*, as he had done in *Scotland*; Turn'd out all whom they call'd *Malignants*, that is, all his *Friends* who had been *True* to him; And put the whole *Power* into the Hands of the *Godly*, who had *Rais'd* the *Rebellion* against him!

I have Transcrib'd this out of *New Assoc.* because no Notice is taken of it in the *Answer*. And perhaps there is not to be found in *History*, such another Instance of *Perfidy*, and *Sanctify'd Hypocrisie*! Except in what I am next to tell you, of their Dealing with K. *Char. II.* Of which they still continue to *Boast*!

If K. *Char. I.* Would have turn'd *Presbyterian*, have Destroy'd the *Church*, and Reveng'd the *Presbyterians* upon the *Independents*, then the *Presbyterians*, having no other Game to Play, would have let him live a little Longer, till they could have done their own

Business

Business without him, and set up their *Common-Wealth* in the *State* as well as the *Church*.

And I doubt not but the *Independents* would have done the same, if they had been *Hew'd* down by the *Presbyterians*; And that they cou'd have made the *King* a *Tool* to have set them in the *Saddle* again. The like would the *Ana-Baptists*, or any other of the then *Sectaries* have done, if it had been their *Cafe*; And have had as much *Cause* to *Boast* of their *Loyalty*, as the *Presbyterians*! But the *Destruction* of the *Church* was the *Causa sine qua non* with them All. None of them would have the *King* *Preserv'd* upon any other *Terms*. They all Agreed in that *Point*, tho' they *Quarrelled* with one another, about *Dividing* of the *Spoil*, and setting up their own *Different Models*. But *Episcopacy* was their *Common Enemy*.

Let the *Dissenters* of several Sorts, Divide the *Murther* of the *King* among them. They were All *Guilty* of it. The *Presbyterians* began the *Rebellion* against him, and brought him to the *Block*: And just as they were ready to strike the *Stroke*, the *Independents* snatch'd the *Ax* out of their Hands, and did it *Themselves*. There is no *Difference* betwixt *Rebellion* and *Regicide*, the one is in order to the other. In vain therefore do these *Rebels* lay the *Murther* of the *King* upon one Another! One *Dis-Arms* him; Another *Binds* him; And a Third *Cuts* his *Throat*! Which are most *Guilty*? Even all alike! However it is among the *Dissenters* and *Whigs*. If it was not they, Who else did it? I hope they will not say it was the *Bishops*, or the *Cavaliers*. That it was the *Church* which Led them into *This* too! Their *Dis-owning* of this *Fact*, renders them *Self-Condemn'd* as to all the *Pretences* of their *Rebellion*, that especially of the *Power* in the *People*, which was the *Foundation* of All the Rest. For that *Principle* must either *Justifie* the *Regicide* or *Condemn* the *Rebellion*. Their *Pretences* to *Loyalty* has Involv'd them past all Possibility of *Escape*! A *Half-fac'd Rebel* can never hold it out. They stand surer, when they own the *Whole Truth*, That they are *Thorough-pac'd*, even to the *Height* of the *Calves-Head-Club*. For then they have some *Principle* to go upon, be it *True* or *False*. And we know, That many *Well-meaning Men* have been *Sedue'd*, through *Weakness* of *Judgment*, by *False Principles*; and Speci-

ous *Pretences*. But when they come to see their *Error*, they Return *Wholly* and *Heartily*, and not by *Halves*. They have an *Indignation* against themselves, for their former *Evil Courses*, and Endeavour to make *Amends*. They do not *Palliate* or *Excuse*, but rather *Aggravate* their *Guilt*. This is the Condition of all True *Penitents*. And, there is nothing more *Christian*, or more *Glorious*! But a Snivelling *Laadicean*, who will neither own his *Principle*, nor *Dis-own* it; who wou'd keep his *Principle*, but would not be Answerable for the *Effects* of it; such an one is the *Contempt* and *Hatred* of *God* and *Man*, and fit only to be *Spew'd* out of their *Mouth*, out of all *Conversation* and *Esteem*! Especially, when not *Forc'd* to it by *Hardships* and *Persecution*; for tho' there is no *Excuse* for *Sin*; yet Great *Allowances* must be made for *Humane Infirmitie*s, by those who are likewise in the *Flesh*, lest they themselves also be *Tempted*. But there is no such *Temptation* now in the way of our *Presbyterians*, Expose their Guilty *Loyalty* in the Year 1648. And to *Re-print*, as they have just now done, a *Sheet*, they say, was *Printed* then, Entitul'd, *The Dissenting Ministers Vindication of Themselves from the Horrid and Detestable Murther of K. Char. of Glorious Memory*. Re-printed, 1704. Where p. 5. They lay the *Cause* of the *Miseries* and *Destruktion* of those *Civil-Wars* (which they do not call *Rebellion*) upon the *Woeful Miscarriages* of the *King Himself*, which they say, were *Many* and *very Great*. Was this to make his *Memory GLORIOUS*! Is this a *Vindication* of their *Loyalty*! To throw all the *Blood* of their own Cursed *Rebellion* upon the *King*!

XV. No less *Shameful* are the *Boasts* they now make of their *Loyalty* to K. *Char. II.* which is Repeated in this *Occasional Letter*, Presbyterians being Instrumental in Restoring K. *Char. II.* and who have always Detested the Barbarous Murther of his Royal Father.

Now if this were True, it can be said only of the *Presbyterian Whigs*, when they were Kick'd out by the *Independent Whigs*. K. *Ch. II.* So then the *Prevailing Party* were *Whigs* still.

But now as to the *Presbyterians* Carriage in this Affair, they being under *Hatches*, could find no way to *Retrieve* themselves, but

but to try if they could make a *Presbyterian*, and a *Property* of the Young *King*; and thereby gain the Advantage of the *Royal Name* on their Side against their *Enemies*, the *Independents*. And the *Presbyterian Party* still Prevailing in *Scotland*, thence sent *Commissioners* to Treat with the *King* then at *Breda*. And he having Agreed (tho' the Necessity of his Affairs) to all the *Insolent Articles* sent to him by the *Parliament* and the *General Assembly*, he came into *Scotland*, in the Year 1650, about two Months after they had, in a most *Infamous* manner *Hang'd* the Glorious *Marquis's* of *Montrose*, His Majesty's *Commissioner* and *General*, as an Earnest what he himself was to *Expect*!

But now behold their *Truth* and *Sincerity*! As soon as they had got the *King* into their Hands, they consider'd him as their *Prisoner*, and a *Victim* to the *Good Old Cause*. The *Commission* of the *General Assembly* publish'd a Paper I have now before me, and was afterwards *Printed* in the Year 1653. Entitul'd, *Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland, &c.* Where p. 52, 53, they assign'd this as one of the Causes, *The Authorizing of Commissioners to Close a Treaty with the King, for the Investing him with the Government, upon his Subscribing such Demands as were sent to him*. And coming to Answer the Objection that he had done all that was Demanded of him by the *Parliament* of this *Kingdom*, and the *Commission* of the *General Assembly*; to which we Reply (say they, p. 55.) *That those Demands were Deficient*. And that a *Paper and Verbal Security* was not sufficient. And that to settle with him upon such *Paper Securities*, and accordingly to *Intrust him*, was but to *Mock God, and to Deceive the World, and to Betray and Destroy our selves*. For they Pretended to know his *Heart*, and give this as one Reason why it was not *Sound*, p. 57 *That when he did condescend to subscribe the Demands, and take the Covenant, it was with a Reserve of a Declaration to be Printed therewith, which he did not pass from, until the Commissioners of the Church did Refuse to admit thereof*. If we had this *Declaration*, it might in some Measure, alleviate the *King's Sin* in taking that Cursed *Covenant*. But he was *Young*, and willing to be at *Home*. In the same *Page* they fall upon the *Parliament* of *Scotland* for their over-forward *Loyalty*, as one of the *Causes of God's Wrath*, *That the News of the late King's Death being brought to Edinburgh as on the Lord's Day that Night, the Parliament*

liament did the next day, before Twelve of the Clock, Proclaim this King with all Publick Solemnyt, without setting any Time apart to seek the Lord for Counsel and Direction therein.

The meaning of their seeking the Lord Yet they say, p. 58. *Albeit they durst not altogether deny duty to be in making Application to the King; yet did the Sense of the Lord's Controversie with him and his House, together with his walking in his former way, lie heavy on their Spirits, and made them rather fear a Curse, than expect a Blessing thereupon.*

How! Fear a Curse for Performing what they Confess to be their Duty! Is there not more Cause to Fear a Curse for not doing our Duty? But these Men, as the Quakers, think nothing that is Commanded in Holy Scripture to be their Duty, unless it be Commanded by their own Spirit *ANEW*. The Quakers Learn'd this Doctrine from them. And indeed, all *Enthusiasm*, when Pursu'd to the Fountain, is the same. They *Pray* not for *Grace* to Resist *Temptations* against their Duty; but, like *Balaam*, in things which *God* has already Commanded, they Ask new *Counsel* and *Advice*, whether it be His *Will* or not? And when they find a strong *Inclination* for what they have a *Mind* to, this is the *Answer* of *God* to them! And they Proceed accordingly. And this they call *Seeking of the Lord*! Thus Oliver Pretended to *Seek the Lord*, and went to *Prayer*, when the King was carried to the *Scaffold*. And said the *Lord* had *Answer'd*, That he must *Die*. Some of the *Regicide* Pleaded the same at their *Tryals*, That they *Sought the Lord* for what they did.

Some have *Sought the Lord* to know whether *Fornication* was a *Sin*? And being *Answer'd* by *Impulses*, have been Perswaded, even to *Argue* and *Write* in Defence of it, and make *Profelytes* to it. And too many have they made. Thus of *Robbery*, *Lying*, and *Cheating*. And thus of *Schism*, of *Sacrilege*, and of *Rebellion*. Who ever heard among all the *Long-winded Prayers* of the *Dis-senters*, one *Petition* to save them from the *Sin of Rebellion*, or of *Sacrilege*? No. They know no such *Sins*! In their *Assembly's Annotations* upon the whole *Bible*, Printed 1646, they could find no such *Sins* in all the *Holy Writ*! No *Sacrilege* in the *Sin of Achan*, of *Belshazzar*, of *Ananias* and *Saphira*. And indeed there is no such *Sin*, if seizing upon the *Revenues* of the *Church*, nay

may upon the *Churches* themselves, and things *Consecrated to Holy Uses*, be not it ! We cannot *Rob GOD in Person*. But in the *Persons of His Priests*, and in things *Dedicated to His Service*. And we *Rebel against God*, when we *Rebel against his Vicegerents*, those *Lawful Kings and Governours* whom He has set over Us.

But if he will *Dispense with us*, in these *Small Matters*, we will be as *Good to Him another way* ! We will *Preach against Sabbath-Breaking*, even to *Judaizing* ! We will *Abhor Idols*, if He will let us *Commit Sacrilege* ! We will make as *Long Prayers* as the *Heathen*, if we may *Devour Widows Houses*, set the whole *Nation* in a *Flame*, and take the *Plunder* to our selves ! We will *Rebel*, and *Perjure* our selves for the *Glory of the Lord* ! And we will seek to *Him* in every thing, and not give over our *Importunity*, till we find His *Answer* in our *Hearts* !

But to go on with our Story, Oliver was then in *Scotland*, at the Head of an *Army* against them and their *King*, And *Expounding* with them for their Back-sliding from the *Principles* of the *Good Old Cause*, in setting up a *King* ; They to obviate this, and satisfie, or *Gull* their Brethren the *Independents*, fram'd a *Declaration* for the *King* to *Sign*, wherein he shou'd lay the *Blood and Guilt* of the whole *Rebellion*, upon his *Father* and *Himself* ; and *Justifie* the *Loyalty* and *Godly Intentions* of the *Saints* who had *Fought* against them ; and *Promis'd* to *Root out Episcopacy* in *England*, as well as *Scotland*. To Discard all *Malignants*, &c. I have *Annex'd* that *Declaration*, *Append. N. 1.* because it is not *Preserv'd* in any of our *Histories* that I know of.

The *King* refus'd to *Sign* this, as he had very good Reason. Whereupon the *Commission* of the *General Assembly* met at the *West Kirk*, at *Edinburgh*, and drew up the *Declaration* hereunto likewise *Annex'd*, commonly call'd *The Act of the West Kirk*, Wherein they *Renounce* the *King* and his *Cause*, upon any other *Terms*. And they oblig'd the *Committee of Estates*, then sitting, to *Ratifie* the same. And order'd the *General* of their *Army* to send this *Declaration* to Oliver, as the *Ground* of their *Quarrel*, supposing the *King* should comply with it ; which *Letter* is likewise *Annex'd*.

The *King* finding himself thus *deserted*, and *Betray'd*, and nothing else to save him from *Immediate Ruin*, and being deliver'd up, as his *Father*, into the *Hands* of his *Implacable Enemies*,

mies, did at last Prevail with himself to Sign the Declaration. Which yet did not satisfie the *Presbyterians*. For in the aforesaid *Remonstrance* of their *General Assembly*, p. 57. They lay this upon him, *That he did for a long time Refuse to Subscribe the Declaration which was Tender'd to him, for the Acknowledging of his own, and his Parents Guiltiness for the time past, and according to his Duty for the time to come; And after that he had, with a great deal of Reluctancy, subscribed the same, he did oftentimes Express, That he did not think his Father Guilty of Blood, and that notwithstanding he had so declared, he had his own Meaniag thereof.*

And as the Manner of his *Signing* this *Declaration* did not Please the *Presbyterians*, for that was Impossible! As little did it satisfie the *Independents*, when it was *Sign'd*, or Reconcile them to the *Presbyterians*; for the Contest then was betwixt these two *Parties* for the *Power*. And they *Bang'd* the *Presbyterians* heartily at *Dunbar*, whose *Word* that Day was the *Covenant*, *The best Victory ever the King Lost!*

But the *Presbyterians*, after this *Defeat*, sought to *Revenge* themselves upon the *King*, and *Press'd* upon him other *Acts*, more *Shameful* and *Outragious*; which the *King* Resolutely *Refusing*, seeing no end of their *Encroachments*, was Threatned with no less than the laying Hands upon His *Person*, which forc'd him to fly for the saving of his *Life*, to his *Northern Friends* and *Forces* under General *Middleton*; where he Treated with the *Presbyterians* at a Distance, and had *Hostages* given on both Sides for Performance of *Articles*; one of which was, that he should be forthwith *Crown'd*, as was stipulated with him at *Breda*; But nothing less Intended by the *Presbyterians* all this time, till they had sufficiently *Peel'd* all *Royalty* from him. But it was perform'd in a very *Uncouth* manner, *January the First, 1651*. Mr. *Robert Douglas* from the *General Assembly*, Preaching the *Coronation Sermon* full of *Treason* before him, (which is in *Print*) telling him what sort of a *Covenanted King* they had made him. And the Old *Marquess of Argyle* supplied the Place of the *Arch-bishop*, in setting the *Crown* upon his *Head*, and giving his *Benediction*.

The *August* following, 1651, the *King* March'd into *England*. And the *Independents* kept a *Watchful Eye* upon the *Presbyterians*.

ans in London, then hoping to get into the *Saddle* again. And that same Month, one Mr. Love, a *Presbyterian Minister* was Executed, for Correspondence with the King and the *Presbyterians*. His Tryal was Printed, which I have Read, with the manner of his Execution, and his *Speech* upon the *Scaffold*, which was Exceeding Long, and full of *Cant*. In it he took special Care, to Free himself and the *Presbyterians* from the least Tergiversation from the *Good Old Cause*, or the *Scandal* of being thought to *Repent* of their *Rebellion* and *Actings* against K. *Char. I.* Which he *Vindicated* to the last. This is their *Royal Martyr*, of whom they have made such *Boasts*! And of whom the *Dissenters Answer to the High-Church Challenge*, lately Printed, 1704. says, p. 43. *I assure you the Author of this wears a Mourning Ring on his Finger, given at the Funeral of Mr. Christopher Love, a Presbyterian Minister, Beheaded An. 1653.* (it should be 1651.) For the *Horrid Phanatick Plot, Contriv'd for the bringing in, as they then call'd him, Charles Staart, and the Restoring of Monarchy*. But how comes this to be a *Vindication* of the *Dissenters* and *Phanaticks*? Were they not such who put Mr. Love to Death? But if it clear not the *Dissenters* in general, yet it do's the *Presbyterians*. As we have seen— To make use of the Name of a *King* for their own Ends, Divesting him, at the same time, of the *Power* of a *King*; and Justifying all their *Treasons* against his *Martyr'd Father*! And laying all the *Blood* and *Misery* which Attended their *Un-natural Rebellion* upon his *Head*, as the *Dissenting Ministers Vindication* beforementioned likewise do's. There is a Reason, why our *Dissenters* keep the *Fifth of November*, for that was a *Popish Plot*; But not the 30th of *January* (excepting in their *Calves-Head Solemnities*) for that plainly lies among the *Dissenters*, let 'em shove it from one to Another as they Please! And if they had that *Horror* and *Detestation* for that *Execrable Murther*, as they sometimes Pretend, to serve a *Turn*, they would not *Revile* and *Ridicule* it, as they do, calling it a *Madding Day*, and such like *Tokens* of their *Respect*, which they shew Us every Day in *Print*. And we know how their *Party* struggled hard in the *House of Commons*, since the *Revolution*, to have the *Observation* of this *Day* laid aside. And why so? If they thought it no *Reproach* to them? If they were perfectly *Innocent* of it?

But

But to give the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* all the Advantage they would have, suppose that *Part* of them, call'd *Presbyterians*, had been really against the *Murther* of K. *Char.* I. And for the setting up of his *Son* K. *Char.* II. As this had been no *Justification* of the *Rest*; so neither would it be any *Proof* of the *Loyalty* or *Monarchichal Principles*, even of these *Presbyterians*. For Mens *Actions* are no certain *Proof* of their *Principles* (except of those who *Voluntary Suffer* for them) where there is an Apparent *Temptation* for them in the way of *Advantages* to be made by it, as these *Presbyterians* had, in the setting up K. *Char.* II. Thereby to Regain that *Power* which the *Independents* had taken from them, and used *Rigorously* over them. But they shew'd their *Aversion to Monarchy*, tho' thus forc'd to make use of it, by those *Unworthy Limitations* before Mention'd which they put upon it, in the Person of this *King*.

Mens *Principles* are only known when they *Act Freely*; without *Compulsion* or *Temptation*. In Times of *Persecution*, Men have *Renounc'd* that *Faith*, which notwithstanding they did Firmly *Believe*; And others have been *Brib'd* to *Act* quite Opposite to their own *Sentiments*. But where no such *Byas* is in the Way, Men are to be *Distinguis'd* by their known and avow'd *Principles*.

Now let the *Whigs* or *Dissenters*, or any of them, shew any one *Principle* of *Loyalty* that they have, or any *Notion* of *Government* that is consistent with *Monarchy*, or indeed with any settl'd *Frame* or *Constitution*: Or any *Principle* of *Treason*, of *Perpetual Rebellion* and *Revolution*, which they have not; and they will shew the World a *Discovery*! When they had the *Power* in their own Hands, they *Supplanted* and *Kick'd* out one another, without *Intermission*; and all upon the same *Foot* of *Power* in the *People*; till their own *Confusions* brought in *Order* and *Restoration* of the *Antient Government* and *Monarchy*.

And so much for their *Loyalty* at this time.

XVI.
of Occa-
sionalCon-
formity. I come now to a New *Notion* and *Reason* for *Occasional Con-*
formity, that I have met with no where else but in this *Occasional Letter*, which coming to Answer the *Objection* of those who Receive the *Sacrament OCCASIONALLY* in the *Church*, and afterwards *Rail* at her, do's *Justifie* it, with this *Reason*, p. 25.
For

For as I take it, the Receiving the Sacrament, is not Engaging to be True to the Church a Man Receives it in. This is a very Extraordinary Reason! For the H. Sacrament is the very *Tessera* and *Bond* of *Christian Unity* and *Love*, which is Exemplified in the *Unity* of the several *Corns* in one *Loaf*, as the *Apostle* speaks, *We being Many, are one Bread, and one Body*, 1 Cor. x. 17. Now sure the *Members* of the same *Body*, ought, at least, to be *True* to one another, and to the *Body*.

But to Lessen the *Horror* of this *Position*, which seems a *Dissolution* of all *Christian Faith* and *Charity*, I must not conceal a *Salvo* he brings in for it, which yet is no *Salvo* at all, but brought in meerly to *Amuse*! For when he says, *That the Receiving the Sacrament, is not Engaging to be True to the Church a Man Receives it in*, He adds, *So much as to be Faithful to his God*.

Now, what is the Meaning of this? Is it not *God* who Requires Us to keep that *Bond* of *Unity* and *Love*, of which the H. Sacrament is a *Symbol*? And is it not being *Unfaithful* to *God*, not to be *True* to this?

May not the same be said in any *Church*, or *Communion*, where a Man Receives the *Sacrament*? And so, it is not any *Bond* of *Unity*, or so much as *Truth* in any *Church*? What then? It may be made Use of in *Dissimulation* and *Hypocrisie*, to *Under-mine* and *Destroy* that *Church*, under the most *Sacred Symbols* of *Truth* and *Love*, even the very *Body of Christ*! It is *Frightful* to *Repeat* this! When the *Holy Kiss* went along with this *Sacrament*, wou'd it not be a *Judas-Kiss*, which such an *Occasional Conformist* shou'd give to his *Fellow-Communicants*, with whom he thought not himself *United*, and sought their *Undoing*, and the *Ruin* of that *Church*, with whom he did *Communicate*!

By this sort of *Salvo*, a Man may *Securely* vent all the *Treason* and *Wickedness* in the World! For Example, I owe not *Obedience* or *Truth* to my *Prince*, — *So much as to God*! To be *Faithful* or *Just* to *Man* — *So much as to God*! And so, not to be *True* to the *Church*, tho' I Receive the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ* with her; and, in that Sense, do *Pawn* them to her, for my *Truth* and *Fidelity* to her, and my *Unity* with her! And all is *Solv'd*, by saying, *Not so much as to be faithful to my God*!

Whither

Whither will Men *Wander*, when they seek to *Defend* what Themselves know to be *Wicked*! When they give Themselves up to the *Drudgery* of *Writing* for a *Party*, which they must *Support*, *Right* or *Wrong*! When they have no *Principles* left, but to serve Present *Turns*!

XVII. What else is it cou'd make this *Author* Insinuate, as if no *Treason* cou'd be Committed against K. *Char.* II. Or ought not to have been *Punish'd*. For, p. 27. he calls those *Very Innocent Men*, who suffer'd for the *Rye-House-Conspiracy*, and *Confess'd* it at their *Deaths*. And Slanders some *Parliaments* since: as if they had said the same. His Reason must be, because their *Attainders* were *Revers'd*, as of *Walcot*, &c. In the Beginning of this *Revolution*. Tho' the same *Walcot*, as others, did *Confess* themselves *Guilty* of the Design'd *Affassination* of the *King* and *Duke*, and utter *Subversion* of the *Government*, both in *Church* and *State*, even when they were at the *Gallows*. The *Attainders* likewise of *Argyle*, and others, who openly *Invaded Scotland*, to the *Reign* of K. *Jam.* II. were taken off in that *Country*. But may not a *Guilty Man* be *Pardon'd*, or his *Attainder* *Revers'd* after his *Death*, for the *Benefit* of his *Heirs*? Do's not this rather suppose him to have been *Guilty*? Else what need of a *Pardon*? But did any of these *Parliaments* Declare them to have been *very Innocent Men*, as this *Author* Infers? The Consequence of which wou'd have been, That no *Treason* cou'd have been committed against K. *Char.* or K. *Jam.* But only against K. *Will.* Did not K. *Char.* II. *Pardon* some of the *very Regicides*? Did he therefore think them *very Innocent Men*, who *Murther'd* his *Father*? But these Men think, that it is no *Treason* to *Depose* or *Murther an Hereditary King*; as not being the *Peoples King*! This is our *Author's* *Doctrine*, if I can make *Sence* of it. But he has full *Liberty* to *Explain* himself. Which we expect in his *Next*.

He goes on and Accuses K. *Cha.* II. of *Tyranny*, for the few that were *Executed* in the *Rye-House-Plot*, and proposes it as a *Frightful Example* to after *Ages*. For Quoting out of the *New-Assoc.* how easily that *Faction* was subdued by K. *Char.* II. after the *Rye-House-Plot*, and the *Oxford Parliament*, only by *shewing his Authority, and letting them see he was not afraid of them*

them (tho' they boasted as much of their *Numbers* and *Power* in the *Country* as they do now) this *Author* *Answers*, p. 26. *But if he would have spoke out, the same Measures must be, preparing Axes and Gallows; for that was the Method which was then taken.* These *Axes and Gallows* run strangely in this *Man's Mind*! Has he any *Qualms*? He will have the *Dissenters Hang'd* whether we will or no! But they were not all *Hang'd* then that did *Deserve* it. If more had been, some had been sav'd from the *Guilt of Rebellion* a *Second time*! But as it was not that *King's Design*, nor, I dare say, any *Body's* now, to have all this *Sett of People Destroy'd*; only *Dis-arm'd* from doing farther *Mischief*, by having no *Power* put into their *Hands*; so where any *thing* is *Touch'd* upon that *Point*, they have no *Defence* to make, but that *Senseless* and *Invidious Clamour*, to say that the *Design* is to have them all *Extirpated*! As if there was no *Medium* betwixt that, and putting the *Sword* into their *Hands*! That they might *Extirpate Us*!

But to shew you some more of his *No-Principles*, he falls up-
on the *Author* of *New Assoc.* for an Expression (which I cannot
find in the Place he Quotes, which is p. 24.) wherein he hap-
pen'd to say, *The Rebellion of the Sevenois*, and Hews him down
for calling those People *Rebels*. Now Sir, perhaps that *Author*
was one of the *Jure-Divino-Men*, who think it *not Lawful* upon
any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms, &c. As our *Laws* once
spoke. And in that Case, Sir, you should have afforded him
some *Reason* to open his *Understanding*, besides calling these a
Poor distressed People. Perhaps he thinks so as well as you. And
the more, for what he calls their *Rebellion*; which has Render'd
them much more *Miserable* than they were before. He will
say, that he Pities all People in *Distress*, and is an *Enemy to*
Persecution. But he may be apt to Ask, whether the *Protestants*
in *Hungary* were not *Persecuted*, and Terms broken with them,
and had not as much *Right* to take *Arms* for their own *Preserva-*
tion, as the *Sevenois*? And how then came these to be *Rebels*,
more than the *Sevenois*? Do's their *Success* alter the *Justice* of
the *Cause*? Or their being a *Disturbance* to the *Emperor*, who is
one of our *Allies*? If so, we go not upon *Principles*, but upon
what makes *For* us, or *Against* us! And Sir, this makes us very
Contemptible to those People who Pretend to *Principles*; And gives

XVIII.
Their No-
tion of Re-
bellion.

them Opportunity to think that we have none. Therefore in your next, Please to Clear this Matter a little more, and for the Future, beware of giving such *Handles* against the *Cause* you wou'd Maintain, That you be not thought a *True Tom-Double*, either set down your *Principles*, and *stand by them*; or else *Renounce* them; but do not *Betray* them.

XIX. And if you would not Despise a little *Help*, I offer this *Method* to your Consideration, to get over all this Matter more easily. Let then the *Sevenois* be *Rebels*, equal to the *Hungarians*, or not, upon the Point of *Principle*: Yet the *Cafe of War* alters the thing, as to *Us*. Who knows not, that *War* makes many things *lawful*, which otherwise are not so? Even to stir up *Rebellion* and *Sedition* in our Enemies Country; as they wou'd serve *Us*, if they cou'd. Tho' I know, that Men of Strict *Principle* do *Object* against this *Method*. But we have the *Practice* of the *World* on our side! Therefore, we will Beat down the *Protestants* in *Hungary*, and call them *Rebels*, because they are against our *Allie*; and we will support the *Sevenois*, and they shall not be *Rebels*, because we are at *War* with *France*. The One are *Rebels*, and the other are not, as to *Us*, however it be as to *Themselves*! Let them look to that!

And who can Deny, but that *War* will Justifie this *Method* with *Subjects*, when it do's as to *Kings* themselves! Who would not Pull down a *King* he is at *War* with, and *Own*, or *dis-own* his *Title*, as serves best for our *Turn*? We did *own Philip of Spain* before the *VVar*; What then? And tho' he was set-up upon the *Foot* of the *People*, and *Recogniz'd* by the *Corteze*, or *Parliament*, by the *Grandees*, and *visibly*, to all *Appearance*, by the *Generality* of the *People*; and is now *King de Facto*; And, as far as the *People* can give him a Right, *de Jure* too; What of all this? By the *Unquestionable Prerogative* of *VVar*, have we not *Reduc'd* him to plain *Duke of Anjou* again; And set up the *de Jure* of *Char. III.* by *Inheritance*, against the *de Facto* of *Philip* by the *People*? And tho' this was not done at the Beginning of the *War*, nor was the *Cause* of the *War*; And that even since the *War* was *Proclaim'd*, our *Gazettes* did *own Philip as King of Spain*; All that makes nothing to the Matter, For in *War*, we must take our own *Time*; we are not to be Directed by our *Enemies*!

Sir, I leave it to you, Whether this do's not *Solve* all these *Objections* Cleverly. And by the *Principles of War*! So that you need.

need not be Afraid to go on with these Men upon *Principles*. You must always set up one *Principle* against another. And *War* makes every thing *Lawful*, it makes *Robbery* to be *Plunder*, and *Killing* no *Murther*, and why not *King* and *No King*! Remember that your *Scene* is in *War*, and you are safe in your *Entrenchments* !

But I would not Advise you to make such Desperate *Sallies* as you do, and where you are sure to be beaten Back. You throw your *Flail* about so *Heedlessly*, that you may Beat out your own *Brains* with it. What need had you, in the very next *Paragraph*, to that above Quoted, p. 28. to make so *Severe a Reflection* upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for his *Praying*, with *David*, to *Scatter the People that Delight in War*, and would *Entail it upon Us and Our Posterities* ?

Is it not a Good *Prayer*? And must not every Good *Christian*, and True *English-man*, say *Amen* to it? But you are very *Angry* with it, and say *Ironically* of it, *A kind Reflection indeed!* *An Agent for France* cou'd have said little more. Pray, Sir, How is *France* concern'd? Is Praying against *People* that *Delight in War*, speaking in Favour of *France*? Is it not *France* that would *Entail War* upon *Us*? And is speaking against such, being an *Agent for France*? You will give *Us* a New Notion of *France*? Is not the *French King* Apparently the Cause of the *War*? Is not He the *Aggressor*? And must not the *Blood* Shed then lie upon Him? *A kind Reflection indeed!* But it seems, this *Author* is an *Agent*, for *Some* he knows, who *Delight in War*, and wou'd *Entail it* — against whom we *Pray* every Day in our *Churches*, That God wou'd *Abate their Pride, Asswage their Malice, and Confound their Devices*.

Postscript to *LEGION*. New-Vamp'd *MILLION*.

Gentlemen,

WH0 Subscribe your Selves *Devils*, saying, *Our Name is Legion, for we are Many*. You have been call'd *Round-heads, Whiggs*, and such like *Nick-Names*; But we knew not your true *Name*, till your *Godfathers* have now told *Us*! And if you had not been *Possess'd*, you would never have taken such a *Name* to your selves. But you think to *Frighten Us* with your *Numbers*, and now Subscribe your selves *MILLION*, and more.

You

XX.
This Au-
thor an E-
nemy to
Peace.

You wou'd Reduce Us to the *Indian Religion*, to *Worship the Devil* for *Fear*. Is this your *Reformation*!

And as to your *Numbers*, none can take it to be any thing else but an *Empty Brag*, while we see the *House of Commons* is against you. And how better can the *Sense of the Nation* be known?

And your now falling Foul upon the *House of Commons*, who are the *Representatives of the People*; and taking *Sanctuary* with the *Lords*, who are *Created Arbitrarily*, at the *Meer Will and Pleasure* of the *King*, is a total *Overthrow* of your *Foundation-Principle* of the *Power in the People*. Whose *Choice* you like not so well as whom the *King* has *Chose*; Yet you Rail at *Prerogative*!

Upon your Foot, the *People* shou'd have Power to Turn out their *Representatives*, whenever they are Displeas'd with them; And to *Choose* others, by their own *Authority*; To meet *When*, and *Where*, and as *Often* as they *Please*. And to be *Accountable* to the *People*.

But it was never so in *England*, or any where else. Nor indeed can be. It wou'd be perfect *Anarchy* and *Confusion*.

Therefore you *Whigs*, or *Devils*, have given a *Demonstrative Proof* against your own *Pretences of Power* in the *People*.

And if you cannot Solve these things, you can no longer be Believ'd by any *Man of Common Sense*. But, to Pursue your own *Allusion*, your *Legion* must be turn'd into the *Herd of Swine*, those *Beasts of the People*; who being once *Possess'd* with *You*, Run *Headlong* to their own *Destruction*.

And now, my *Little Devils*, I'll tell you a Story. The *Secretary of Oliver Cromwell*, Mr. *Thurlo*, being Ask'd by a *Noble Peer* (whom I can Name) soon after the *Restoration*, 1660. How it came to pass, That their Party being *Possess'd* of the *People* and the *Power*, came so *Unaccountably to lose Both*, as it were in a *Moment*? Mr. *Thurlo* Answer'd, That it was chiefly owing to the *Cavalier-Pamphlets*. And tho', said he, those wrote on our Side were much more *Numerous*, having the *Courage* and *Encouragement* of the *Government*; yet, I must confess, That the other wrote for the *Royal Cause*, had the *Wit* and the *Argument* of Us. They expos'd what the *People* at last *Felt*, the *Oppression*, the *Giddiness*, and *Unstability* of *Government*, upon the Foot of the *People*. And all our *Authority* cou'd not keep our *Ground* against it.

The Application, Gentlemen, is Easie. If you cannot *Learn* to speak *Sense*, if you will set up *Principles* which you cannot *Maintain*; and then *Act* in *Direct Opposition* to them; tho' you have all the *Conivance* (at least) of the *Government* to *Write* on, without *Control*; And that the *People* have been hitherto even *Bewitch'd*, (a *Second time*) with your *Pretences of Liberty* and *Property*; Yet their *Eyes* will be open'd by the *Force of Truth* and *Experience*. And you sent to the *Place* from whence you came. And the *Nation* Rescu'd from the *Fatality* you have brought upon them, of being a *Kingdom Divided against it self*. And which cannot *Stand*, unless your *Leven* be *Purg'd* out of it.